

DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

"OPEN THY MOUTH FOR THE DUMB, IN THE CAUSE OF ALL SUCH AS ARE APPOINTED TO DESTRUCTION; OPEN THY MOUTH, JUDGE RIGHTEOUSLY, AND PLEAD THE CAUSE OF THE POOR AND NEEDY."—1st Eccl. xxi. 8, 9.

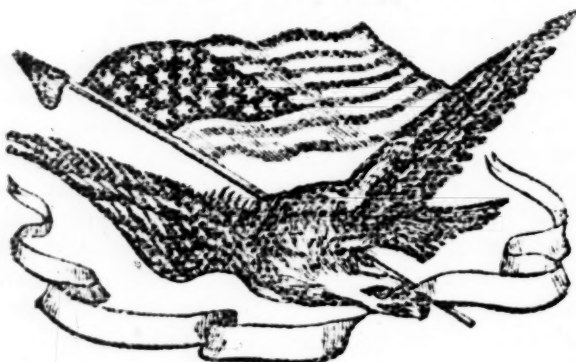
VOLUME IV. }
NUMBER II. }

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK, JULY, 1861.

PRICE—
ONE DOLLAR PER ANNUM.

DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

FREEDOM FOR ALL,



OR CHAINS FOR ALL.

NOTES ON THE WAR.

Though the destruction of life and property has been frightful and appalling, we are yet at the beginning of the horrors of our civil war. The slaveholders, though less hopeful of the result, are not less determined to fight, and fight to the last. They rely for success not more upon their arms in the field, than upon the faithful industry of their slaves to keep their rebel army supplied with food, and clothing, and the sinews of war. They boast that the slave population is a grand element of strength, and that it enables them to send and sustain a stronger body of rebels to overthrow the Government than they could otherwise do if the whites were required to perform the labors of cultivation; and in this they are unquestionably in the right, provided the National Government refuses to turn this mighty element of strength into one of weakness. While the rebels are tearing up railways, cutting telegraph wires, burning bridges, building forts, guarding fords, fighting behind batteries, marching and countermarching, and doing all they can to destroy the lives and property of loyal citizens, one species of their own property, in the shape of men and women, are busily at work with spade, shovel, plow and hoe, to feed and clothe the destroyers. Why? Oh! why, in the name of all that is national, does our Government allow its enemies this powerful advantage? The war has made little progress, physical or moral. We are stupidly applying maxims of peace to a condition of war—maxims of loyalty to a condition of treason and rebellion—obligations of friendship towards implacable enemies—The lives of loyal men are being sacrificed by scores, and will, by and bye, be sacrificed by thousands. Rebels and pirates sweep peaceful commerce from the sea, and the country is full of desolation and ruin; and yet the vital, necessary and animating cause of all our national calamities is spared the slightest shock, and the Government at Washington utterly refuses to call that cause in question. The passions of selfishness, murder and rebellion are fired by slavery; the physical strength of rebellion is found less in the attenuated arm of the slaveholder, than in the sinewy arm of steel, which wields, without wages, the hoe

and spade on the plantation. All this is plain. The very stomach of this rebellion is the negro in the condition of a slave. Arrest that hoe in the hands of the negro, and you smite rebellion in the very seat of its life.—Change the status of the slave from bondage to freedom, and you change the rebels into loyal citizens. The negro is the key of the situation—the pivot upon which the whole rebellion turns.

The rulers at Washington, and those who direct public opinion at the North, seem to be utterly in the fog on this point. They have made some progress, but they are still far behind the plain requirements of the hour. Even the New York *Tribune* protests against making this a war for the destruction of slavery, and insists that such a war would alienate a large body of the Northern people at present who adhere to the Government in the prosecution of the war. When the *Tribune* has watched the progress of the war a little longer, it will see that what it calls a diversion from the objects of the war, is the only effective and certain way to accomplish those objects. The clear-sighted and earnest men of the North are forever checked in carrying forward measures of justice and principle, from the fear of giving offence to some conservatives whose influence and co-operation it is desirable to have. In nine cases out of ten, these very conservatives would be secured rather than repelled by bold and vigorous measures. Men who a little while ago denounced coercion, are now in the foremost ranks of the Government to suppress rebellion. The men who applauded Gen. BUTLER for offering his army to put down a slave insurrection, applauded him more when he refused to return slaves to their masters, altho' his duty under the Constitution is as plain to do this latter as the former. But we believe that the *Tribune* and other papers have overestimated the tenderness of the commercial classes towards slavery. They are under a cloud, in a perfect haze, concerning the rights of slave property; but let the Government once lift itself up to the dignity of a sound principle, and it will draw the whole people up to it. The Government must lead the people. The people will follow in any just and necessary path, and do so joyfully.

We know that rebellion cannot be talked down, written down, or coaxed down. It has got to be beaten down, and the heaviest blow that can be given is the right blow to be given. There is no whipping the traitors without hurting them. War was made to hurt, and those who provoke it ought to be hurt; and the only conceivable good which can come out of war, comes because it hurts.

What our rulers at Washington most of all stand in need of, in order to a speedy suppression of this slaveholding rebellion, and to place the nation on a firm foundation of peace and prosperity, is neither men nor money, but a living and all-controlling faith in the principles of freedom avowed in the Declaration of

Independence, and which are the foundation of the Government; they need faith in the Bible truth, that righteousness exalteth a nation, and that sin is a reproach to any people; they want faith in justice and humanity, and in the fullest application of them. They have men, money and arms in abundance. A call is made for a thousand men, and lo! ten thousand start up as from the ground to answer that call. They ask for thirty millions of treasure, and at once sixty millions, like a golden flood, is rolled into the National treasury. The world has never seen a government so suddenly thus made opulent in all the munitions of war. But alas! while strong in men, rich in money and in the munitions of war, we are neither rich nor strong in what is far more important in moral consistency.—To fight against slaveholders, without fighting against slavery, is but a half-hearted business, and paralyzes the hands engaged in it. Our army presents the appearance, while thus fettered, of seeming to be trying how not to put down rebellion and treason among the slaveholders. It would knock them down, but it would see that they fall upon feathers, and not upon forks or flints. It is still clinging to the delusion—for it is nothing else—that they can win the slaveholders to loyalty by showing friendship to slavery, and by admitting, within certain limits, that slavery has constitutional rights—the wildest possible mistake.

They know that slavery is the crime, the curse and the scandal of the American name; that to it they owe all their present National troubles; and that while slavery lasts, there can be no lasting peace. They know that there is, and must ever remain an 'irrepressible conflict' between slavery and freedom, and that one or the other must be eventually and totally extinguished; but still they hesitate to adopt the only mode of warfare which can secure the permanent triumph of freedom, and the lasting peace of the country.—What is this mode of warfare which we recommend, and which is required by the exigency now upon the land? This it is: Accept the aid of the slaves wherever the National army is required to march to suppress rebellion, and proclaim freedom and protection to men of all colors who will rally to the support of the established Government.—Teach the rebels and traitors that the price they are to pay for the attempt to abolish this Government must be the abolition of slavery in every State and Territory where the National arm is required to march in vindication of the National flag. Send no more slaves back to their rebel master; offer to put down no more slave insurrections 'with an iron hand'; reject no more black troops; release no more slaveholding rebels on their word of honor; hang or imprison for life all pirates; and henceforth let the war cry be, down with treason, and down with slavery, the cause of treason.

There are objections to this programme; but they are by no means so strong as those

which can be urged against the policy at present pursued. It is urged, for instance, that upon any declaration of the emancipation of the slaves on the part of the Federal army, the slaveholders would at once proceed to a work of indiscriminate slaughter of the male portion of their slaves; and this threat has been already made in a letter from the South to Ex-President FILLMORE. Horrible purpose! but quite worthy of the guilty wretches from whom it proceeds. The thought of it chills the blood and stuns the mind; but horrible as would be such wholesale murder, the work once begun would soon cure itself, and out of it would come in the end peace to the country and freedom to the slave. Anything but unending slavery; and if the abolition of slavery must and can only end in blood at any time, no time can be better than now for that bloody end. There are good reasons for believing, however, that with all the known savage ferocity of slaveholders, that even they within sight of the American people and the world, would proceed only to a very limited extent in the sanguinary slaughter which they now so shamelessly threaten. But whatever might be the consequences, nothing worse can happen than victory to the slaveholding rebels, either for the country or for the slave.

THE ATTITUDE OF ENGLAND TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES.

Many of our journals and public men affect astonishment that England, with her anti-slavery history and professions, should not have, upon the outbreak between the North and the South, promptly espoused the cause of the North, and opposed the pretensions of the South. To us, there appears little ground for this astonishment. We can easily see that in the view of the British public, that the question of the abolition or non-abolition of slavery was not involved in the present contest. Mr. LINCOLN, Mr. SEWARD, and all the leading men of the Republican party, had, at the time of the formation of British public opinion, distinctly affirmed their purpose to administer the Government in a manner in no way prejudicial to the existence of slavery in any State of the American Union. The Republican party had virtually abandoned its doctrine of prohibiting the extension of slavery. In many of the free States they had repealed their Personal Liberty Laws, were in favor of slave-hunting, and also in favor of holding a National Convention with a view to such an alteration of the Constitution as should forever put it out of the power of the Federal Government to abolish slavery in any of the States. Even at the beginning of hostilities, long after the fall of Fort Sumter, and while the streets of Baltimore yet ran loyal blood, our Generals, with the approbation of the Government, were assuring, as they are now, the guilty slave-trailers that they stand ready to suppress, with an 'iron hand,' any attempt on the part of the slaves to gain their freedom. When, too, it is remembered that up to the fall of Fort Sumter nothing really existed on the surface of American affairs indicating a decided purpose on the side of the Government to assert the supremacy of the Union over the South, within a few days of the bombardment of Sumter, it appeared to be the policy of Mr. LINCOLN to surrender that fort, and if that, all other forts and arsenals in the Southern

States. Commissioners from the seceded States were in Washington, right under the nose of the President, for the avowed purpose of negotiating for the surrender to the rebel States all Federal property within their borders. The Democratic press of the North, with great unanimity, were denying the power and denouncing the policy of coercing the seceding States; while many of the leading Republican papers were saying, let them go! The fact is, the whole aspect of affairs looked towards a peaceful and permanent separation of the slaveholding from the non slaveholding States; and it was in this state of facts that British public opinion was formed.

It was, therefore, natural that the statesmen of Great Britain, especially in view of our pernicious Northern tariff, should, for commercial purposes, assume an attitude of friendliness to the new Confederacy, whose independence, even by American admissions, appeared inevitable. It is ridiculous for the North, in view of its anti-abolition record and even its present pro-slavery policy, to claim the sympathies of Great Britain on abolition grounds, or even upon the ground of its right to put down treason and rebellion to the Federal Government. To the first we have no claim, and to the second we have but recently asserted either power or purpose. Upon this subject we give below the tersely stated view taken by an Abolitionist in England, one whom we know to be as true a friend to humanity, and as true a friend to the Northern people as any in the United States:

HALIFAX, June 8, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR:—In times like these, we feel that all the writing, as all the action, should be on your side. We have nothing to write about, commensurate in interest to what is passing among you.

I see that the North is rather disappointed with the course our Government is adopting, but it has itself to thank for our neutrality. It did not treat the Southern secession as rebellion, till the secession movement had grown into a sort of government; and the present quarrel seems rather one for supremacy, than for the interests of liberty. If the South was to say now, 'Take us back, slaves and all—give us the rights to oppress we had before'—the North would consent.

The tariff bill has, of course, caused great disgust in England, and very justly. If a majority can pass a bill for their own supposed interests, which must cause a vast amount of dishonesty, and which is oppressive to a large portion of the States, it gives a color to the plea of the South that they could not be secure of impartiality on any sectional question. The North had expressed its readiness to barter the small concessions towards freedom they had made for the colored race, to gain the South back. They could give the poor man's lamb to feast the stranger! but not only do they spare their own flocks and herds, but try to fitch some of the said stranger's! They talk as if Union was the thing dearest to their hearts, and at the same time pass a Bill similar in effect to the one which had caused secession in time past. I fancy if the South had seceded on some such principle—if it had said, the North are protectionists and manufacturers, we are agricultural free traders, and what is the food of the North (commercial imposts) is poison to us—it would not have seemed very absurd to divide the Government, when interests seem so much divided.

I think I sent you an *Inquirer*—to which I contributed an article, 'Slaveownia'—or else expected you to see it, before the last outbreak happened, when it seemed as if the North was consenting to peaceful secession. If the South was to secede, it seemed natural that it should keep the forts on its own soil.

The rage of the North at the capture of Sumter caused some astonishment.

As yet, the war is not undertaken to promote freedom, but to force union, or to terrify from further disunion; and till we see what comes of it, as friends of freedom we feel no intense interest in the success of the pro-slavery North, any more than of the South. It is true the North may hate Southern institutions while they are enemies, yet be prepared to protect them, as before, when peace comes. In this respect it may be better for the period of hatred to sinners to continue, till a hatred of the sin is thoroughly ingrained in the Northern conscience. But I am a peace-loving Abolitionist; and war talk, and the cruelty of hatred, is as disgusting to me as pro-slavery talk, and the cruelty of oppression, and I think each section of the States proud, bectoring and revengful. The only comfort is, that the North does contain many thousands of true, generous, devoted men and women, who may do something to elevate and ennoble this horrid civil war. But fratricide has few charms for those who are not engaged in it! and the North, as a community, are not entitled to claim the function of pure and righteous ministers of divine vengeance. In the same army are noble anti-slavery men, and the worst rowdies, of whom our only hope is, that they can't do much more harm in war, than they have inflicted in a corrupt peace.

I fear in this hurried scrawl I have not made myself very intelligible. As for you, I hope you may rather shed salt than blood—Never did your country stand more in need of the true salt of Christian principle.

Ever faithfully yours, R. L. C.

STILL IN DANGER OF A COMPROMISE.

We confess to something like a dread of the approaching meeting of Congress to be convened on the 4th of July. The situation of affairs is not without signs of hope that the day of compromise with slavery is past; and still there is nothing yet which absolutely assures us. Leading statesmen and newspapers of the North have denounced the very possibility of accomplishing any new adjustment of the relations of the North to slavery. The haughty, imperious, disdainful tone of the slaveholding rebels, and the firm declaration of the Government of a determination to suppress the rebels, without the alteration of a single line of the Constitution, very strongly forbid the idea that there is to be another paper compromise by which the North is to be bound, and with which the slaveholders are to be made satisfied. The temper for compromise seems wanting on both sides, and many weighty considerations, even of policy, forbid the entertainment of any such measure. Thus far, nothing has been demonstrated one way or the other by the war. The uprising of the North, and the equally spirited uprising of the South, the slight conflicts which have ensued, have done nothing to settle the ability of the Government of the U. S. to make itself respected, nor has the South proved its ability to break up the Government. Both sides are in the field. Both sides have taken up the sword, and solemnly declared their purpose never to lay it down till certain results have been accomplished. So far, compromise seems out of the question; for either party now to lay down their arms and attempt to settle by the tongue and pen, what both had undertaken to settle by the sword, would be a confession not only of being in the wrong, but of cowardice. Neither the North nor the South could go before the world with any explanation which would leave it entirely free from the suspicion of cowardice, and of having performed over again the heroic exploit of

marching an army up a hill, and of marching it down again. But ridiculous and calamitous as would be any attempt at a new compromise, it would not be wise for the friends of freedom to ignore the possibility, or to forget to warn the people against its possible occurrence.

There is nothing in the history of American politics which absolutely forbids the fear of a new compromise in the present juncture.—We are, notoriously, scoffers at fidelity to principle. The great principles of freedom, which we set forth to the world eighty-five years ago, have been practically trampled in the dust ever since. We have never made good that declaration declaring all men 'free and equal,' but have, while shouting and shooting on the 4th of July of each year, continued to hold in galling bondage millions of men. We have shown ourselves a nation of compromisers, ever ready to barter our professed principles for the sake of peace, not of conscience, but of commerce. The annexation of Texas, the war with Mexico, the Compromise of 1850, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, are all illustrations of the National contempt for sound political principles and the readiness of our rulers to make any sacrifices in the way of principle in order to secure peace, although such peace has ever proved, as it must ever prove 'a delusion and a snare' to the free States.

Just now the temptation to compromise is not very strong. It is a mere child now; but it may be a giant in the heats of July, and the meeting of Congress on the 4th may greatly increase its strength. The 'horrors of war,' 'fraternal blood,' 'great Anglo-American race,' 'gone far enough,' 'a ruined country,' 'can it not be arrested?' 'a common ancestry,' 'heavy national debt,' 'prestige abroad,' 'all loss, no gain,' 'the South only wants security, and the North only wants loyalty,' 'why can't they each say the word, and have done this fighting?' To many we fear this view will stand to reason, and we may witness another and a stronger lease of life given to slavery. Nevertheless, we shall still hope in the omnipotent power of events, and that the result will prove better than our fears. A day or an hour may change the entire complexion of affairs either way, and it is hardly worth while to predict anything as to the immediate future.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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Mr. Loguen wishes us to acknowledge the following donations recently received by him:

Doncaster A. S. Society.....	£5 10 0
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A NEGRO PREACHER HUNG.—A negro preacher, belonging to Mrs. Harden, at Pine Bluff, (so says a Memphis paper,) indulged in violent language to his mistress last Sunday afternoon, remarking, among other things, that he would be free in three weeks, and could raise a thousand men himself for the purpose. His case was reported to the authorities the same evening, and he was taken out and hung on Monday afternoon.

THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

We have been favored by the receipt of two numbers of the *Star of Liberia*, edited and published by T. MORRIS CHESTER. This paper, it seems, is published monthly, and the numbers before us are of February and March, 1861. We gather from the *Star* something of the life and the spirit of Liberia, and have been somewhat amused as well as instructed by its perusal. Liberia, it seems, not less than greater Republics, has its wars and rumors of war, its ambitious men, its parties, party names, its party quarrels, collisions, misrepresentations, aspersions, incivilities and scurrilities, all of which are made quite manifest in the pages now before us. We cannot say that in these two numbers of the *Star* we have learned anything very definite of the war recently waged by Liberia against the Poes, except that the former became an ally of the Padees, another tribe, who wished to possess themselves of certain lands owned and occupied by the Poes. The war, however, does not appear to be a very serious one, and the Liberians, according to the *Star*, have obtained an easy victory, though not one which reflects much credit upon President BENSON.

Whatever may be the merits of the war, it is evident that the people of the little Republic of Liberia are divided into two parties, like larger Republics, in respect to those merits. The Liberians are not only excited and tempest-tossed by the war with the Poes, but have recently had a fire-brand flung into their midst by one Prince LEO LLOYD, a character somewhat notorious a few years ago in the neighborhood of Boston, Mass. Until seeing the *Star*, we had not known of the rising of LEO in Africa, or that Liberia had become the theatre of his nimble tongue and mischievous propensities. For the first time in the history of Liberia, through this LLOYD we have the intimation of a desire on the part of a faction in that country to accomplish the destruction of the Republic, and to establish a Monarchy. The announcement of this fact by LEO has created no little excitement among the Liberians. The *Star* does not hesitate to denounce it—and no doubt justly—as a deliberate falsehood, uttered with a design of casting suspicion upon Ex-President ROBERTS, and thereby advancing the political interests of President BENSON, into whose family, we infer, this LLOYD has now married.

Our friends in Liberia, we are very glad to observe, have formed a very correct idea of the character and ability of Mr. LLOYD, the very pretensions of whom—to say nothing of his history—stamp him as nothing better than an impostor. For the well-being of Liberia, an eye should be kept upon Mr. LLOYD.

The *Star* has very little to say of the general condition of the country, and if, as doctors say that the stomach is most healthy when a man is unconscious of having any, we must decide from reading the *Star* that business in Liberia is in a prosperous condition.—Party warfare in Liberia is shown to be not any more scrupulous in the choice of weapons, or in the selection of epithets, than in the U. S. Vast improvement might be made in this respect. A difference of opinion on mere questions of policy should scarcely draw upon any the vulgar epithets which we find applied not only to parties, but to men, in the columns of the *Star of Liberia*.

THE LATE STEPHAN A. DOUGLAS.

A tree is known by its fruits, and a nation by its great men. 'No people were ever better than their laws,' is an ancient proverb. Equally true is it that no people are better than their law-makers, especially when they have the making of their law-makers. The late STEPHAN A. DOUGLAS was, in a high sense, a representative man. If at any time he seemed to exaggerate in his conduct the barbarous elements of American society, it was only because of his prominence as a politician, and the energy and ability which he possessed. Springing from the people in point of social position as well as political influence, he represented especially the democratic imperfections and vices of the people. Success in America seems evermore the criterion of greatness; hence success becomes the leading and all-controlling law to the aspiring. Once possessed of this idea, the American politician becomes crafty, cringing, unscrupulous and often, apparently, lost to all sense of honor and consistency. He turns with the first touch of the popular breeze, imbibes as freely the prejudices of the rabble as the enlightenment of the intelligent, and reflects both just so far as they may assure success.

Mr. DOUGLAS, at whose death the country has sent up a wail of lament, was in our judgment the representative of the very worst type of American politics and American ambition. In reference to slavery, he claimed to be alike destitute of principle and feeling. In his exhibition of contempt for the negro, he was malignant, unscrupulous, coarse, vulgar and brutal, to a degree which made him the favorite exponent of this peculiar American malignity. He omitted no opportunity to assail our race, and quicken into active aversion the general public sentiment of dislike to us. On all occasions he was ready to indorse the Dred Scott decision, to deny the black man's citizenship, and to offer to the South any terms of accommodation involving any sacrifice of justice and humanity. Of course, for the death of such a man we have no tears shed. The position assumed by Mr. DOUGLAS towards the maintenance of the Government in the Union, a few months before his death, and which has chiefly caused his death to be lamented, would, had he lived to the end of the war, made him the most dangerous and mischievous man in the councils of the nation. The strength gained at the North by the apparent heartiness of the espousal of its cause, would have been made the means of a deeper demoralization of Northern sentiment than ever—for though opposed and defeated by the South in his Presidential aspirations, and speaking under the inspiration of chagrin at the ingratitude and baseness which had discarded him, he was ever too crafty and self-possessed to allow one word to escape him which could possibly block the way to his return to his old slaveholding service. While we rejoice in the death of no man, we cannot but welcome the removal from the sphere of active exertion of any tyrant persecutor of our race.

SLAVE INSURRECTIONS.—The telegraph occasionally announces an outbreak among the slaves in some of the slave States. As the U. S. mail has been stopped in the South, nothing reliable can be ascertained.

[From the N. Y. Independent.]

THE HAYTIAN EMIGRATION MOVEMENT.

One effect of the heroic attempt to liberate the slaves of Virginia by JOHN BROWN, and his noble little company of brave men, was a perfect storm of pitiless wrath and fury directed against the free colored people scattered over the slaveholding States. Several of these States, in their delirium of guilt and alarm, with more than Pharaoh-like tyranny and cruelty, proposed the expulsion of free colored people from their borders. This scandalous and shocking measure, supported, as usual, by the tyrant's plea—necessity—designed the better to protect and preserve slavery from internal as well as external danger, was, as all know, rigorously put in force in several of the more Southern States. The colored people were sternly compelled at once to choose between a condition of life-long slavery for themselves and for their posterity, and removal from those States. Being men, they preferred the latter; and thus the heart-rending spectacle was presented to the world, of thousands of American born people, guilty of no crime but the color given them by their Creator, literally driven from their homes, from the soil watered by their tears, and enriched by their very blood. They were compelled to leave all behind them, and to seek new homes they knew not whither. The continent upon which they had toiled for more than two centuries, seemed to be gradually closing all its iron gates against them; and 'Whither shall we go?' was the plaintive wail that went out from them into the ear of all Christendom.

It was in this mournful state of facts, that GEFFRARD, the patriotic and philanthropic President of Hayti, touched with a noble feeling of sympathy and fraternity, won for himself, and for his country, the grateful applause of humane men throughout the world by promptly offering to this stricken and outcast people a home and country within his dominions. The buoyant humanity of the black Republic of the tropics was in startling contrast with the leaden indifference to the fate of these people by our professedly more enlightened and Christianized white Republic of the North. This act of Hayti at once secured for her, as it deserved, the lasting gratitude of the free colored people of the United States; and hence the origin and rapid growth, and the present magnitude of a grand scheme of colonization contemplating the removal of not only those who had been driven out of the slave States by the inhuman legislation referred to, but that of the entire free colored population of all the States.

It is this last and new phase of Haytian colonization which causes hesitation and doubt, and demands of the friends of the colored race a little closer scrutiny than seemed to be required at the first. In its inception it was a most generous outburst of humane feeling, creditable alike to the Government and people of that country. It was furnishing, under congenial skies, an asylum and a home to a woe-smitten and an outcast people in the dark hour of their extremest need. But now, this simple overture of benevolence has hardened into a grand scheme of public policy, and claims the acceptance of the whole colored people and their friends. It has become ethnological, philosophical, political and

commercial. It has its doctrines of races, of climates, of nationalities and destinies, and offers itself as the grand solution of the destiny of the colored people of America. In this aspect the Haytian Emigration movement challenges criticism, and leaves room to question its wisdom.

It is not at all doubted that such men as JAMES REDPATH, JOHN BROWN, Jr., and other white gentlemen associated with them in this emigration movement, are sincere and earnest friends of the cause of freedom and of the colored race. They have shown their faith by their works. Nor is it doubtful that persons of color, accustomed to the culture of tropical and semi-tropical productions, may much improve their fortunes by emigrating to Hayti on the liberal terms offered by the Haytian Government. Fugitive slaves from the more Southern States, who know all about raising cotton, rice, sugar and tobacco, would find in Hayti a much more desirable home and country than in Canada, New York, or Massachusetts. It may also be freely admitted, that any individual, self-moved, self-sustained, independent emigration, like that which lands the German, the Irishman and the Scotchman upon American soil, may be equally advantageous in the case of many colored men.—Such emigration is simply an individual concern, and neither asks the approval nor incurs the censure of any. Colored men have already done this to advantage in going to California, Australia, and elsewhere, and for one, I am decidedly in favor of this kind of emigration.

But very different is the present emigration movement. It offers itself as a national movement. It comes to us with a national creed, addresses us with political theories, and with theories of the proper distribution of the different varieties of men on the surface of the globe, and calls upon the man of color, like the old American Colonization Society, in the name of nationality and duty, to get himself out of this land of the white man, and betake himself to a particular latitude intended for him by his Creator. It has its headquarters, its offices, its numerous Secretaries, its traveling agents, its lecturers, and an able public journal and other publications proclaiming its doctrines, and calling upon all colored men to adopt them. Through the columns of its newspaper it tolerates the publication of nothing in the shape of controversy, and assumes that the wisdom of emigration cannot be questioned. It has here in Rochester, as it has doubtless elsewhere, led to the sending around of a class of colored men speaking in the name of the poor colored people, ever ready to avail themselves of such opportunities to solicit funds from the benevolent to enable them to get away from the country, thus degrading as paupers those who stay, as well as those who go. It has propagated the favorite doctrine of all those who despise and hate the colored man, that the prejudice of the whites is invincible, and that the cause of human freedom and equality is hopeless for the black man in this country. The very moment Haytian Emigration began to theorize, it began to take up the old exploded ideas of prejudice and caste, upon which both the African Civilization Society and the African Colonization Society are based. It would have the black man proud of his color, and determine his local habitations and his associations by that fact.

This attitude of the Haytian Emigration movement compels me to say, I am not an Emigrationist. While I hold up both hands for Hayti, grateful for her humanity, rejoice in her prosperity, point to her example with pride and hope, and would smite down any hand that would fling a shadow upon the pathway of her glory, I wish to remind those who claim to be the best representatives of her views and feelings, that those who made Hayti what she is, did not leave her, but remained there and worked out their own salvation. Without taking too much space, here are my views:

I assume that more than two hundred years have demonstrated the ability of black people to live and flourish in the temperate climate of the United States; that we are now more than four millions in number, and that no mode of emigration contemplating our entire removal can possibly succeed; that we are Americans, speaking the same language, adopting the same customs, holding the same general opinions as to religion and government, and shall rise or fall with Americans; that upon the whole our history here has been one of progress and improvement, and in all the likelihoods of the case, will become more so; that the lines of social and political distinction, marking unjust and unnatural discriminations against us, are gradually being effaced; and that upon the fall of slavery, as fall it must, these discriminations will disappear still more rapidly. I hold that all schemes of wholesale emigration tend to awaken and keep alive and confirm the popular prejudices of the whites against us. They serve to kindle hopes of getting us out of the country; and while they thus naturally produce in the whites indifference to our welfare, they promote distrust and destroy in ourselves one very important element of progress—namely, the element of permanent location. 'A rolling stone gathers no moss.' No people will much improve a land from which they are momentarily expecting to be excluded, or from which they are to go speedily of their own accord. Permanence, a local habitation, as well as a name, is essential to our progress.

I object to these schemes of emigration, because they uniformly assume to be true what experience even here in America has shown to be false, that prejudice against color is invincible. I hold that there is no such thing as a natural and unconquerable repugnance between the varieties of men. All these artificial and arbitrary barriers give way before interest and enlightenment. 'Lands intersected by a narrow frith abhor each other,' till they are taught by self-interest or pure enlightenment the folly of such hate. The hope of the world is in Human Brotherhood; in the union of mankind, not in exclusive nationalities; in bringing the ends of the earth together, not in widening the distance between; in world-wide co-operation, not in barren and fruitless isolation; and until I give up the belief in the essential identity of human nature, and human destiny, and shall adopt the belief that color is more than manhood, that progress is merely a fiction of the brain, that men were created to hate and destroy each other, and not to love, bless and improve each other, I shall continue to hope

'Its coming yet for a' that,
That man to man the world all o'er
Shall brothers be,' &c.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

SUBSTANCE OF A LECTURE

DELIVERED BY FREDERICK DOUGLASS, AT
ZION CHURCH, SUNDAY, JUNE 16.

I am not surprised, my respected hearers, though I am most deeply gratified by the continued interest which you have manifested in these now somewhat protracted anti-slavery lectures. The subject of slavery is a most fruitful one, and it seems impossible to exhaust it. I seldom retire from this place without thinking of something left unsaid, which might have been said to profit.

More than thirty years of earnest discussion has augmented rather than diminished the interest which surrounds the subject. Tongues the most eloquent, and pens the most persuasive, the highest talent and genius of the country have been ardently employed in the attempt to unfold the matchless and measureless abominations comprehended in that one little word—slavery. Yet those who have succeeded best, own that they have fallen far short of the terrible reality. You, yourselves, have read much, thought much, and have felt much respecting the slave system, and yet you come up here and crowd this church every Sunday to hear the subject further discussed.

Vain as I may be, I have not the vanity to suppose that you come here because of any eloquence of mine, or any curiosity to hear a colored man speak—for I have been speaking among you more or less frequently nearly a score of years; and I recognize among my hearers to-day some of those kind friends who greeted me the first time I attempted to plead the cause of the slave in this city. No—the explanation of this continued, and I may say increasing interest, is not to be found in your humble speaker; nor can it be ascribed altogether to the temper of the times, and the mighty events now transpiring in the country. We shall find it in the deep significance, the solemn importance and unfathomable fullness of the subject itself. It sweeps the whole horizon of human rights, powers, duties and responsibilities. The grand primal principles which form the basis of human society, are here.

Those who love peace more than justice; those who prefer grim and hoary oppression to agitation and liberty, condemn the discussion of slavery because it is an exciting subject. They cry, away with it; we have had enough of it; it excites the people, excites the Church, excites Congress, excites the North, excites the South, and excites everybody. It is, in a word, an exciting subject. I admit it all. The subject is, indeed, an exciting one. Herein is one proof of its importance. Small pots boil quick; empty barrels make the most noise when rolled; but that which has the power to stir a nation's heart, and shake the foundations of Church and State, is something more than empty clamor. Individual men of excitable temperament may be moved by trifles; they may give to an inch the importance of a mile—elevate a mote to the grandeur of a mountain—but the masses of men are not of this description. Only mighty forces, resting deep down among the foundations of nature and life, can lash the deep and tranquil sea of humanity into a storm, like that which the world is now witnessing.

The human mind is so constructed as that, when left free from the blinding and hardening power of selfishness, it bows reverently

to the mandates of truth and justice. It becomes loyal and devoted to an idea. Good men, once fully possessed of this loyalty, this devotion, have bravely sacrificed fortune, reputation, and life itself. All the progress towards perfection ever made by mankind, and all the blessings which are now enjoyed, are ascribable to some brave and good man, who, catching the illumination of a heaven-born truth, has counted it a joy, precious and unspeakable, to toil, suffer, and often to die for the glorious realization of that heaven-born truth. Hence the excitement. Cold water added to cold water, makes no disturbance. Error added to error causes no jar. Selfishness and selfishness walk together in peace, because they are agreed; but when fire is brought in direct contact with water, when flaming truth grapples with some loathsome error, when the clear and sweet current of benevolence sets against the foul and bitter stream of selfishness, when mercy and humanity confront iron-hearted cruelty, and ignorant brutality, there cannot fail to be agitation and excitement.

Men have their choice in this world. They can be angels, or they may be demons. In the apocalyptic vision, John describes a war in heaven. You have only to strip that vision of its gorgeous Oriental drapery, divest it of its shining and celestial ornaments, clothe it in the simple and familiar language of common sense, and you will have before you the eternal conflict between right and wrong, good and evil, liberty and slavery, truth and falsehood, the glorious light of love, and the appalling darkness of human selfishness and sin. The human heart is a seat of constant war. Michael and his angels are still contending against the infernal host of bad passions, and excitement will last while the fight continues, and the fight will continue till one or the other is subdued. Just what takes place in individual human hearts, often takes place between nations, and between individuals of the same nation. Such is the struggle now going on in the United States. The slaveholders had rather reign in hell than serve in heaven.

What a whirlwind, what a tempest of malignant passion greets us from that quarter! Behold how they storm with rage, and yet grow pale with terror! Their demonstrations of offended pride are only equaled by their consummate impudence and desperate lying. Let me read you a paragraph from a recent speech of Mr. HENRY A. WISE, as a specimen of the lies with which the leaders of this slaveholding rebellion inflame the base passions of their ignorant followers. He lyingly says of the Northern people:

‘Your political powers and rights, which were enthroned in the Capitol when you were united with them under the old constitutional bond of the Confederacy, have been annihilated. They have undertaken to annul laws within their own limits that would render your property unsafe within those limits. They have abolitionized your border, as the disgraced North-West will show. They have invaded your moral strongholds, and the rights of your religion, and have undertaken to teach you what should be the moral duties of men. They have invaded the sanctity of your homes and firesides, and endeavored to play master, father and husband for you in your households.’

Such lies answer themselves at the North, but do their work at the South. The strong and enduring power which anti-slavery truth naturally exercises upon the minds of men, when earnestly presented, is

explained, as I have already intimated, not by the cunning arts of rhetoric, for often the simplest and most broken utterances of the uneducated fugitive slave, will be far more touching and powerful than the finest flights of oratory. The explanation of the power of anti-slavery is to be found in the inner and spontaneous consciousness, which every man feels of the comprehensive and stupendous criminality of slavery. There are many wrongs and abuses in the world that shock and wound the sensibilities of men. They are felt to be narrow in their scope, and temporary in their duration, and to require little effort for their removal. But not so can men regard slavery. It compels us to recognize it, as an ever active, ever increasing, all comprehensive crime against human nature. It is not an earthquake swallowing up a town or city, and then leaving the solid earth undisturbed for centuries. It is not a Vesuvius which, belching forth its fire and lava at intervals, causes ruin in a limited territory; but slavery is felt to be a moral volcano, a burning lake, a hell on the earth, the smoke and stench of whose torments ascend upward forever. Every breeze that sweeps over it comes to us tainted with its foul miasma, and weighed down with the sighs and groans of its victims. It is a compendium of all the wrongs which one man can inflict upon a helpless brother. It does not cut off a right hand, nor pluck out a right eye, but strikes down at a single blow the God-like form of man. It does not merely restrict the rights, or lay heavy burdens upon its victims, grievous to be borne; but makes deliberate and constant war upon human nature itself, robs the slave of personality, cuts him off from the human family, and sinks him below even the brute. It leaves nothing standing to tell the world that here was a man and a brother.

In the eye of the law of slavery, the slave is only property. He cannot be a father, a husband, a brother, or a citizen, in any just sense of these words. To be a father, a husband, a brother, and a citizen, implies the personal possession of rights, powers, duties and responsibilities, all of which are denied the slave. Slavery being the utter and entire destruction of all human relations, in opposing it, we are naturally enough bound to the consideration of a wide range of topics, involving questions of the greatest importance to all men. But for the universal character of the anti-slavery question, it would have been impossible to have held the public mind suspended upon this discussion during the space of thirty years. The best informed men have candidly confessed that anti-slavery meetings have been the very best schools of the nation during the last quarter of a century.—The nation has been taught here, as nowhere else, law, morals and Christianity. Untrammelled by prescription, unrestrained by popular usage, unfettered by mouldy creeds, despising all the scorn of vulgar prejudice, our anti-slavery speakers and writers have dared to call in question every doctrine and device of man, which could strengthen the hands of tyrants, and bind down the bodies and souls of men. The manhood of the slave has been the test of all our laws, customs, morals, civilization, governments, and our religions.—With a single eye here, the whole anti-slavery body has been full of light. With the golden rule, they have measured American Christianity, and found it hollow—its votaries doing precisely unto others that which they would shoot, stab, burn and devour others for doing

unto themselves. To all who press the Bible into the service of slavery, we have said, if you would not be the slave, you cannot be the master.

The fact is, slavery is at the bottom of all mischief amongst us, and will be until we shall put an end to it. We have seen three attempts within less than thirty years to break up the American Government in this the first century of its existence, and slavery has been the moving cause in each instance. The attempt was made in 1832, again in 1850, and again in 1860. Some of us were surprised and astonished that the slaveholders should rebel against the American Government, simply because they could not rule the Government to the full extent of their wishes.—Little cause had we for such surprise and astonishment. We ought to have known slaveholders better.

What is a slaveholder but a rebel and a traitor? That is, and must be in the nature of his vocation, his true character. Treason and rebellion are the warp and woof of the relation of master and slave. A man cannot be a slaveholder without being a traitor to humanity and a rebel against the law and government of the ever-living God. He is a usurper, a spoiler. His patriotism means plunder, and his principles are those of the highway robber. Out of such miserable stuff you can make nothing but conspirators and rebels.

So far as the American Government is entitled to the loyal support and obedience of American citizens, so far that Government is, in the main, in harmony with the highest good and the just convictions of the people. Justice, goodness, conscience are divine. Conformity to these, on the part of human governments, make them binding and authoritative. These attributes, wherever exhibited, whether in the government of States, in the government of families, or wherever else exhibited, command the reverence and loyal regard of honest men and women. But slaveholders, by the very act of slaveholding, have thrown off all the trammels of conscience and right. They are open, brazen, self-declared rebels and traitors to all that makes loyalty a virtue, and fidelity a duty. The greater includes the lesser crime. In the one high handed act of rebellion against truth, justice and humanity, comprehended in making one man the slave of another, we have the ascertained sum of treason and rebellion which now rages and desolates the whole slaveholding territory in the United States.

This is no new idea in these lectures. I have presented it before, and shall probably repeat it again. I wish at any rate to underscore it now, for I deem it important that we should thoroughly understand the foe with which we have to deal. Let it, then, be written down in every man's mind, as no longer a matter of dispute, that a thief and a robber cannot be safely trusted; that a slaveholder cannot be a good citizen of a free republic; and that the relation of master and slave is in the nature of it treason and rebellion. It has long been obvious to common sense—it is now known to common experience—that a slaveholder who is a slaveholder at heart is a natural born traitor and rebel. He is a rebel against manhood, womanhood and brotherhood. The essence of his crime is nothing less than the complete destruction of all that dignifies and ennobles human character.

I don't know how it seems to you, in reading the authoritative utterances of our Government, and the officers of our army, respecting slavery; but it really seems to me that they are woefully mistaken if they think this country can ever have peace while slavery is allowed to live. Every little while you learn that slaves have been sent back to their loyal masters. We hear that while other property is freely confiscated, this peculiar property is only held to the end of the war, and the inference seems to be that these slaves, by and by, are to enter into the basis of negotiations between the Government and the slaveholding rebels. I am anxious to look charitably upon everything looking to the suppression of rebellion and treason. I want to see the monster destroyed; but I think that while our Government uses its soldiers to catch and hold slaves, and offers to put down slave insurrections, and subject them to the control and authority of their rebel masters, it will make precious little headway in putting down the rebels, or in establishing the peace of the country hereafter.

There is still an effort to conciliate the Border States. Our Government does not know slavery. Our rulers do not yet know slaveholders. We are likely to find them out after a while. We are just now in a pretty good school. The revolution through which we are passing is an excellent instructor. We are likely to find out what is meant by Southern chivalry and Southern honor.—When you have watched a while longer the course of Southern men, whether in the cotton States or in the slave-breeding States, you will have become convinced that they are all of the same species, and that the Border States are as bad as any. JOHN BELL, the Union man, is as much a traitor as FRANK PICKENS of South Carolina. We shall learn by and by that such men as LETCHER of Virginia, JACKSON of Missouri, MAGOFFIN of Kentucky, were traitors and rebels in the egg, only waiting to be hatched by the heat of surrounding treason. The ties that bind slaveholders together are stronger than all other ties, and in every State where they hold the reins of government, they will take sides openly or secretly with the slaveholding rebels.—Conciliation is out of the question. They know no law, and will respect no law but the law of force. The safety of the Government can be attained only in one way, and that is, by rendering the slaveholders powerless.

Slavery, like all other gross and powerful forms of wrong which appeal directly to human pride and selfishness, when once admitted into the frame work of society, has the ability and tendency to beget a character in the whole net work of society surrounding it, favorable to its continuance. The very law of its existence is growth and dominion. Natural and harmonious relations easily repose in their own rectitude, while all such as are false and unnatural are conscious of their own weakness, and must seek strength from without. Hence the explanation of the uneasy, restless, eager anxiety of slaveholders.—Our history shows that from the formation of this Government, until the attempt now making to break it up, this class of men have been constantly pushing schemes for the safety and supremacy of the slave system. They have had marvelous success. They have completely destroyed freedom in the slave States,

and were doing their best to accomplish the same in the free States. He is a very imperfect reasoner who attributes the steady rise and ascendancy of slavery to anything else than the nature of slavery itself. Truth may be careless and forgetful, but a lie cannot afford to be either. Truth may repose upon its inherent strength, but a falsehood rests for support upon external props. Slavery is the most stupendous of all lies, and depends for existence upon a favorable adjustment of all its surroundings. Freedom of speech, of the press, of education, of labor, of locomotion, and indeed all kinds of freedom, are felt to be a standing menace to slavery. Hence, the friends of slavery are bound by the necessity of their system to do just what the history of the country shows they have done—that is, to seek to subvert all liberty, and to pervert all the safeguards of human rights. They could not do otherwise. It was the controlling law of their situation.

Now, if these views be sound, and are borne out by the whole history of American slavery, then for the statesman of this hour to permit any settlement of the present war between slavery and freedom, which will leave untouched and undestroyed the relation of master and slave, would not only be a great crime, but a great mistake, the bitter fruits of which would poison the life blood of unborn generations. No grander opportunity was ever given to any nation to signalize, either its justice and humanity, or its intelligence and statesmanship, than is now given to the loyal American people. We are brought to a point in our National career where two roads meet and diverge. It is the critical moment for us. The destiny of the mightiest Republic in the modern world hangs upon the decision of that hour. If our Government shall have the wisdom to see, and the nerve to act, we are safe. If it fails, we perish, and go to our own place with those nations of antiquity long blotted from the maps of the world. I have only one voice, and that is neither loud nor strong. I speak to but few, and have little influence; but whatever I am or may be, I may, at such a time as this, in the name of justice, liberty and humanity, and in that of the permanent security and welfare of the whole nation, urge all men, and especially the Government, to the abolition of slavery. Not a slave should be left a slave in the returning footprints of the American army gone to put down this slaveholding rebellion. Sound policy, not less than humanity, demands the instant liberation of every slave in the rebel States.

SLAVE-CATCHING OBSOLETE.—A Philadelphia correspondent of the *Tribune* says:—A gentleman just in from the counties bordering on Maryland, informs me that there is a small but constant stream of fugitive slaves coming over our State line from Maryland and Virginia. No one undertakes to molest them, the Fugitive Slave Law being by common consent regarded as dead. On the contrary, life-long Democrats, residing on the track of the fugitives not only refuse to intercept their flight, but feed them generously. A year ago these men would have considered themselves bound to aid in catching them. But all that feeling of duty is now gone, and is entirely reversed. Indeed, the general change of sentiment in regard to the alleged rights of slaveholders is most remarkable. We cannot yet divine what is to become of slavery, but we are fast washing our hands of all sympathy for it.

THE "CONTRABAND GOODS" AT FORTRESS MONROE.

The latest advices from this Fortress report that runaway negroes still continue to present themselves at the gate, and are in every instance received as 'contraband goods' of war. It is stated that there are nearly five hundred of this species of property under Gen. BUTLER'S protection, worth \$500,000, at a fair average of \$1,000 apiece in the Southern human flesh market. Gangs are now doing good service in the cause of the Government, and seem the happiest fellows in the world. They work willingly, and claim to belong to the regular army. They are no three-month men, and probably do not wish an early discharge. A correspondent of the *Tribune*, writing from that stronghold, says:

The first invoice of Virginia property received at Gen. Butler's camp, consisted of eight packages. Gen. Ashley was detailed to examine and report.

'What are you going to do with us?' the negroes asked.

Gen. Ashley—'We shall not harm you.'

Negroes—'We know that; but will you send us back? We want to know, because if you don't, our friends will follow. They wait to learn how we are treated.'

Gen. Ashley—'I have no authority to set; but you may be sure that you won't be returned to your masters for twenty-four hours.'

At this, about 200 volunteers, who had gathered about from various regiments, and all parties present, clapped their hands and cheered, showing the sentiment of the soldiers. General Ashley then examined the eight separately, and seemed to understand their situation, and to feel as with one of their number. An old Methodist class-leader, who said that they were like the children of Israel in Egypt; they knew that deliverance was 'gwine to come,' but how was not so clear. But the war was something toward it. They had awaited quietly since September, 'when we made up our minds that the North was too strong for the South.'

'Who are "we"?' asked Gen. Ashley.

'Masters and slaves both,' was the reply.

The next morning, according to their prophecy, 40 or 50 more came into camp; and these 'Volunteer Virginians' continued coming until Gen. Ashley left. An examination of these confirmed the conclusions respecting the knowledge of the negroes that something was going on which might enure to their good, and they determined to seize the opportunity.

Gen. ASHLEY, M. C., in a letter to the *Toledo Blade*, describing his interviews with some of these fugitive slaves, says:

This little incident tells me more plainly than ever, that what I said last winter in the House is true, when I declare that 'the logic of events told me that slavery must die.' If I had time, and you the space, I would give in their own words the material portions of the answers of the most intelligent slaves.—There is one thing certain, every slave in the United States understands this rebellion, its causes and consequences, far better than I supposed. I asked one old man, who said he was a Methodist class leader, to tell me frankly whether this matter was well understood by all the slaves, and he answered me that it was, and that he 'prayed for it many long years.'—He said that their masters had all talked about it, and he added, 'Lor' bless you, honey, we don't give it up last September dat the North's too much for us,' meaning, of course, Mr. Lincoln's election was conceded even there by the slave masters, and was understood and hoped for by all the slaves. I asked the same man how many more would probably come into the fort. He said 'a good many; and if we's not sent back, you'll see 'em fore to-morrow night.' I asked why so, and he said, 'Dey'll understan' if we's not sent back, dat we'r 'mong our friends, for if de slaveholder sees us, we gets sent right back.'

And sure enough, on Monday, about 40 or 50 more, of all ages, colors and sexes, came into camp, and the guard was bound to arrest them.

And thus is being developed a practical plan which I believe, under Providence, will result in universal emancipation, for the people of this nation will never consent that those slaves, who refuse to fight against us, and escape to our camps and aid us all they can, shall be given up now to their assumed owners, or at the conclusion of the war, shall again be returned to slavery. The man or party who will do this thing is already condemned to a political death, and will be executed, as he ought to be, by posterity.

Another correspondent writes:

It was discovered that thirty of the slaves belonged to one man in Richmond. He obtained permission to visit the fort to confer with Gen. Butler on the subject of getting his live property back. He asked the General if he might be allowed to convey them back. The General said they came there of their own accord, and could go back with them if they desired to. They were asked if they desired to return with their master. They quickly decided that they preferred to remain with the soldiers in the fort. The claimant then said if the General would allow him to take his slaves to Richmond he would manumit them. Gen. Butler said he could not make any such arrangement; but the claimant could go to Richmond with or without the slaves, and they go or stay, as they pleased, and if they went the claimant might do as he pleased about manumitting them. The claimant, finding himself in a bad fix, manumitted the thirty slaves on the spot, left them in the fort free men, and left himself for Richmond.

GEN. BUTLER TO SECRETARY CAMERON.

The following is the passage in Gen. BUTLER'S dispatches to the War Department referring to the slaves:

Since I wrote my last dispatch, the question in regard to slave property is becoming one of very serious magnitude. The inhabitants of Virginia are using their negroes in the batteries, and are preparing to send the women and children South. The escapes from them are very numerous, and a squad has come in this morning to my pickets, bringing their women and children. Of course these cannot be dealt with upon the theory on which I designed to treat the services of able-bodied men and women who might come within my lines, and of which I gave you a detailed account in my last dispatch. I am in the utmost doubt what to do with this species of property. Up to this time I have had come within my lines men and women, with their children, in entire families, each family belonging to the same owner.

I have, therefore, determined to employ, as I can do very profitably, the able-bodied persons in the party, issuing proper goods for the support of all, and charging against their services the expense of the care and sustenances of the non-laborers, keeping a strict and accurate account, as well of the services as of the expenditures, having the worth of the services and the cost of the expenditure as determined by the board of survey hereafter to be detailed. I know of no other manner in which to dispose of this subject and the questions connected herewith. As a matter of property to the insurgents, it will be of very great moment—the number that I now have amounting, as I am informed, to what, in good times, would be of the value of \$60,000. Twelve of these negroes, as I am informed, have escaped from the erection of the batteries on Sewall's Point, which this morning fired upon my expedition as it passed by out of range.

As a means of offense, therefore, in the enemy's hands, these negroes, when able bodied, are of the last importance. Without them the batteries could not have been erected, at least for many weeks. As a military question it would seem to be a measure of necessity to deprive their masters of their services. How can this be done? As a politi-

cal question and a question of humanity, can I receive the services of a father and a mother, and not take the children? Of the humanitarian aspect there is no doubt; of the political one I have no right to judge. I, therefore, submit all this to your better judgment. As these questions have a political aspect, I have ventured, and I trust I am not wrong in so doing, to duplicate the parts of my dispatch relating to this subject, and forward them to the Secretary of War.

SECRETARY CAMERON'S REPLY.

WASHINGTON, May 30, 1861.

SIR:—Your action in respect to the negroes who came within your lines, from the service of the rebels, is approved. The Department is sensible of the embarrassments which must surround officers conducting military operations in a State, by the laws of which slavery is sanctioned. The Government cannot recognize the rejection by any State of its Federal obligations resting upon itself. Among these Federal obligations, however, no one can be more important than that of suppressing and dispersing any combinations formed for the purpose of overthrowing its whole constitutional authority.

While therefore, you will permit no interference, by persons under your command, with the relations of persons held to service under the laws of any State, you will, on the other hand, so long as any State within which your military operations are conducted, is under the control of such armed combinations, refrain from surrendering to alleged masters any persons who may come within our lines. You will employ such persons in the service to which they will be best adapted, keeping an account of the labor by them performed, of the value of it, and the expenses of their maintenance. The question of their final disposition will be reserved for future determination.

SIMON CAMERON, Sec'y of War.

To Major-General Butler.

GEN. BEAUREGARD'S PROCLAMATION.

HEADQUARTERS DEPT OF ALEXANDRIA, }
CAMP PICKENS, June 1. }

A PROCLAMATION—To the people of the Counties of Loudon, Fairfax and Prince Williams.

A reckless and unprincipled tyrant has invaded your soil. Abraham Lincoln, regardless of all moral, legal and constitutional restraint, has thrown his Abolition hosts among you, who are murdering and imprisoning your citizens, confiscating and destroying your property, and committing other acts of violence and outrage, too shocking and revolting to humanity to be enumerated.

All rules of civilized warfare are abandoned, and they proclaim by their acts, if not on their banners, that their war cry is "Beauty and Booty." All that is dear to man—your honor and that of your wives and daughters—your fortunes and your lives, are involved in this momentous contest.

In the name, therefore, of the constituted authorities of the Confederate States—in the sacred cause of constitutional liberty, and self government, for which we are contending—in behalf of civilization itself, I, G. T. Beauregard, brigadier-general of the Confederate States, commanding at Camp Pickens, Manassas Junction, do make this my proclamation and invite and enjoin you by every consideration dear to the hearts of freemen and patriots, by the name and memory of your Revolutionary fathers, and by the purity and sanctity of your domestic firesides, to rally to the standard of your state and country; and by every means in your power, compatible with honorable warfare, to drive back and expel the invaders from your land.

I conjure you to be true and loyal to your country and her legal and constitutional authorities, and especially to be vigilant of the movements and acts of the enemy, so as to enable you to give the earliest authentic information at these headquarters, or to the officers under this command.

I desire to assure you that the utmost protection in my power will be given to you all.

(Signed) G. T. BEAUREGARD,
Brigadier General Commanding.

Official—THOMAS JORDAN,
Acting Assistant Ad't General.

DENMARK VESSEY.

[From the Atlantic Monthly, for June, 1861.]

On Saturday afternoon, May 25th, 1822, a slave named Devany, belonging to Colonel Frioletau of Charleston, South Carolina, was sent to market by his mistress—the Colonel being absent in the country. After doing his errands, he strolled down upon the wharves, in the enjoyment of that magnificent wealth of leisure which usually characterizes the 'house-servant' of the South, when once beyond hail of the street-door. He presently noticed a small vessel lying in the stream, with a peculiar flag flying; and while looking at it, he was accosted by a slave named William, belonging to Mr. John Paul, who remarked to him—'I have often seen a flag with the number 76, but never one with the number 96 upon it before.' After some further conversation on this trifling point, he continued with earnestness—'Do you know that something serious is about to take place?' Devany disclaiming the knowledge of any graver impending crisis than the family dinner, the other went on to inform him that many of the slaves were 'determined to right themselves.' 'We are determined,' he added, 'to shake off our bondage, and for that purpose we stand on a good foundation; many have joined, and if you will go with me, I will show you the man who has the list of names, and who will take yours down.'

This startling disclosure was quite too much for Devany; he was made of the wrong material for so daring a project; his genius was culinary, not revolutionary. Giving some excuse for breaking off the conversation, he went forthwith to consult a free colored man, named Pensil or Pencil, who advised him to warn his master instantly. So he lost no time in telling the secret to his mistress and her young son; and on the return of Col Frioletau from the country, five days afterward, it was at once revealed to him. Within an hour or two he stated the facts to Mr. Hamilton, the Intendant, or, as we should say, Mayor; Mr. Hamilton at once summoned the Corporation, and by five o'clock Devany and William were under examination.

This was the first warning of a plot which ultimately filled Charleston with terror. And yet so thorough and so secret was the organization of the negroes, that a fortnight passed without yielding the slightest information beyond the very little which was obtained from these two. William Paul was, indeed, put in confinement, and soon gave evidence inculcating two slaves as his employers—Mingo Harth and Peter Poyas. But these men, when arrested, behaved with such perfect coolness and treated the charge with such entire levity, their trunks and premises, when searched, were so innocent of all alarming contents, that they were soon discharged by the Wardens. William Paul at length became alarmed for his own safety, and began to let out further facts piecemeal, and to inculcate other men. But some of these very men came voluntarily to the Intendant, on hearing that they were suspected, and indignantly offered themselves up for examination. Puzzled and bewildered, the municipal government kept the thing as secret as possible, placed the city guard in an efficient condition, provided sixteen hundred rounds of ball cartridges, and ordered the sentinels and patrols to be armed with loaded muskets. 'Such had been our fancied security, that the guard had previously gone on duty without muskets, and with only sheathed bayonets and bludgeons.'

It has since been asserted, though perhaps on questionable authority, that the Secretary of War was informed of the plot, even including some details of the plan and the leader's name, before it was known in Charleston. If so, he utterly disregarded it; and, indeed, so well did the negroes play their part, that the whole report was eventually disbelieved, while (as was afterwards proved) they went on to complete their secret organization, and hastened by a fortnight the appointed day of attack. Unfortunately for their plans, however, another betrayal took place at the very last moment, from a different direction. A

class-leader in a Methodist church had been persuaded or bribed by his master to procure further disclosures. He at length came and stated that, about three months before, a man named Rolla, slave of Governor Bennett, had communicated to a friend of his the fact of an intended insurrection, and had said that the time fixed for the outbreak was the following Sunday night, June 16th. As this conversation took place on Friday, it gave but a very short time for the city authorities to act, especially as they wished neither to endanger the city nor to alarm it.

Yet so cautiously was the game played on both sides, that the whole thing was still kept hushed up from the Charleston public; and some members of the city government did not fully appreciate their danger till they had passed it. 'The whole was concealed,' wrote the Governor afterwards, 'until the time came; but secret preparations were made.—Saturday night and Sunday morning passed without demonstrations; doubts were excited, and counter orders issued for diminishing the guard.' It afterwards proved that these preparations showed to the slaves that their plot was betrayed, and so saved the city without public alarm. Newspaper correspondence soon was full of the story—each informant of course hinting plainly that he had been behind the scenes all along, and had withheld it only to gratify the authorities in their policy of silence. It was 'now no longer a secret,' they wrote—adding, that for five or six weeks but little attention had been paid by the community to these rumors, the city council having kept it carefully to themselves, until a number of suspicious slaves had been arrested. This refers to ten prisoners who were seized on June 18th—an arrest which killed the plot, and left only the terrors of what might have been. The investigation, thus publicly commenced, soon revealed a free colored man named Denmark Vesey as the leader of the enterprise—among his chief coadjutors being that innocent Peter and that unsuspecting Mingo who had been examined and discharged nearly three weeks before.

It is a matter of demonstration, that, but for the military preparations on the appointed Sunday night, the attempt would have been made. The ringleaders had actually met for their final arrangements, when, by comparing notes, they found themselves foiled; and within another week they were prisoners on trial. Nevertheless, the plot they had laid was the most elaborate insurrectionary project ever formed by American slaves, and came the nearest to a terrible success. In boldness of conception and thoroughness of organization there has been nothing to compare with it, and it is worth while to dwell somewhat upon its details, first introducing the *Dramatis Personæ*.

Denmark Vesey had come very near figuring as a revolutionist in Hayti, instead of South Carolina. Captain Vesey, an old resident of Charleston, commanded a ship that traded between St. Thomas and Cape Francois, during our Revolutionary War, in the slave-transportation line. In the year 1781, he took on board a cargo of three hundred and ninety slaves, and sailed for the Cape.—On the passage, he and his officers were much attracted by the beauty and intelligence of a boy of fourteen, whom they unanimously adopted into the cabin as a pet. They gave him new clothes and a new name, Telemaque, which was afterwards gradually corrupted into Telmak and Denmark. They amused themselves with him until their arrival at Cape Francois, and then, 'having no use for the boy,' sold their pet as if he had been a macaw or a monkey. Capt. Vesey sailed for St. Thomas, and presently making another trip to Cape Francois, was surprised to hear from his consignee that Telemaque would be returned on his hands as being 'unsound,'—not in theology, nor in morals, but in body—subject to epileptic fits, in fact. According to the custom of that place, the boy was examined by the city physician, who required Capt. Vesey to take him back; and Denmark served him faithfully, with no trouble from epi-

lepsy, for twenty years, traveling all over the world with him, and learning to speak various languages. In 1800, he drew a prize of fifteen hundred dollars in the East Bay St. Lottery, with which he bought his freedom from his master for six hundred dollars—much less than his market value. From that time, the official report says, he worked as a carpenter in Charleston, distinguished for physical strength and energy. 'Among those of his color he was looked up to with awe and respect. His temper was impetuous and domineering in the extreme, qualifying him for the despotic rule of which he was ambitious. All his passions were ungovernable and savage; and to his numerous wives and children he displayed the haughty and capricious cruelty of an Eastern bashaw.'

For several years before he disclosed his intentions to any one, he appears to have been constantly and assiduously engaged in endeavoring to embitter the minds of the colored population against the white. He rendered himself perfectly familiar with all those parts of the Scriptures which he thought he could pervert to his purpose; and would readily quote them to prove that slavery was contrary to the laws of God—that slaves were bound to attempt their emancipation, however shocking and bloody might be the consequences—and that such efforts would not only be pleasing to the Almighty, but were absolutely enjoined and their success predicted in the Scriptures. His favorite texts, when he addressed those of his own color, were Zechariah, xiv. 1-3, and Joshua, vi. 21; and in all his conversations, he identified their situation with that of the Israelites. The number of inflammatory pamphlets on slavery brought into Charleston from some of our sister States within the last four years, (and once from Sierra Leone,) and distributed amongst the colored population of the city, for which there was a great facility, in consequence of the unrestricted intercourse allowed to persons of color between the different States in the Union, and the speeches in Congress of those opposed to the admission of Missouri into the Union, perhaps garbled and misrepresented, furnished him with ample means for inflaming the minds of the colored population of this State; and by distorting certain parts of those speeches, or selecting from them particular passages, he persuaded but too many that Congress had actually declared them free, and that they were held in bondage contrary to the laws of the land.—Even whilst walking through the streets in company with another, he was not idle; for if his companion bowed to a white person, he would rebuke him and observe that all men were born equal, and that he was surprised that any one would degrade himself by such conduct—that he would never cringe to the whites, nor ought any one who had the feelings of a man. When answered, 'We are slaves,' he would sarcastically and indignantly reply, 'You deserve to remain slaves;' and if he were further asked, 'What can we do?' he would remark, 'Go and buy a spelling-book and read the fable of Hercules and the Wagoner,' which he would then repeat, and apply it to their situation. He also sought every opportunity of entering into conversation with white persons when they could be overheard by negroes near by, especially in grog-shops—during which conversation he would artfully introduce some bold remark on slavery; and sometimes, when, from the character he was conversing with, he found he might be still bolder, he would go so far, that, had not his declarations in such situations been clearly proved, they would scarcely have been credited. He continued this course until some time after the commencement of the last winter; by which time he had not only obtained incredible influence amongst persons of color, but many feared him more than their owners, and, one of them declared, even more than his God.'

It was proved against him that his house had been the principal place of meeting for the conspirators, that all the others habitually referred to him as the leader, and that he had

shown great address in dealing with different temperaments and overcoming a variety of scruples. One witness testified that Vesey had read to him from the Bible about the deliverance of the Children of Israel; another, that he had read to him a speech which had been delivered 'in Congress by a Mr. King' on the subject of slavery, and Vesey had said that 'this Mr. King was the black man's friend—that he, Mr. King, had declared he would continue to speak, write, and publish pamphlets against slavery the longest day he lived, until the Southern States consented to emancipate their slaves, for that slavery was a great disgrace to the country.' But among all the reports, there are only two sentences which really reveal the secret soul of Denmark Vesey, and show his impulses and motives. 'He said he did not go with Creighton to Africa, because he had not a will; *he wanted to stay and see what he could do for his fellow-creatures.*' The other takes us still nearer home. Monday Gell stated in his confession, that Vesey, on first broaching the plan to him, said 'he was satisfied with his own condition, being free, *but, as all his children were slaves, he wished to see what could be done for them.*'

It is strange to turn from this simple statement of a perhaps intelligent preference, on the part of a parent, for seeing his offspring in a condition of freedom, to the *naïve* astonishment of his judges. 'It is difficult to imagine,' says the sentence finally passed on Denmark Vesey, 'what *infatuation* could have prompted you to attempt an enterprise so wild and visionary. You were a free man, comparatively wealthy, and enjoyed every comfort compatible with your situation. You had, therefore, much to risk and little to gain.' Is slavery, then, a thing so intrinsically detestable, that a man thus favored will engage in a plan thus deperate merely to rescue his children from it? 'Vesey said the negroes were living such an abominable life, they ought to rise. I said, I was living well; he said, tho' I was, others were not, and that 't was such fools as I that were in the way and would not help them, and that after all things were well he would mark me.' 'His general conversation,' said another witness, a white boy, 'was about religion, which he would apply to slavery; as, for instance, he would speak of the world, in which he would say all men had equal rights, blacks as well as whites, etc.;—all his religious remarks were mingled with slavery.' And the firmness of this purpose did not leave him, even after the betrayal of his cherished plans. 'After the plot was discovered,' said Monday Gell, in his confession, 'Vesey said it was all over, unless an attempt were made to rescue those who might be condemned, by rushing on the people and saving the prisoners, or all dying together.'

The only person to divide with Vesey the claim of leadership was Peter Poyas. Vesey was the missionary of the cause, but Peter was the organizing mind. He kept the register of 'candidates,' and decided who should or should not be enrolled. 'We can't live so,' he often reminded his confederates; 'we must break the yoke.' 'God has a hand in it; we have been meeting for four years, and are not yet betrayed.' Peter was a ship carpenter, and a slave of great value. He was to be the military leader. His plans showed some natural generalship; he arranged the night-attack; he planned the enrolment of a mounted troop to scour the streets; and he had a list of all the shops where arms and ammunition were kept for sale. He voluntarily undertook the management of the most difficult part of the enterprise—the capture of the main guard-house—and had pledged himself to advance alone and surprise the sentinel.—He was said to have a magnetism in his eye, of which his confederates stood in great awe; if he once got his eye upon a man, there was no resisting it. A white witness has since narrated, that, after his arrest, he was chained to the floor in a cell, with another of the conspirators. Men in authority came and sought by promises, threats, and even tortures, to ascertain the names of other accomplices.—

His companion, wearied out with pain and suffering, and stimulated by the hope of saving his own life, at last began to yield. Peter raised himself, leaned upon his elbow, looked at the poor fellow, saying quietly, 'Die like a man,' and instantly lay down again. It was enough; not another word was extorted.

One of the most notable individuals in the plot was a certain Jack Purcell, commonly called Gullah Jack—Gullah signifying Angola, the place of his origin. A conjurer by profession and by lineal heritage in his own country, he had resumed the practice of his vocation on this side the Atlantic. For fifteen years he had wielded in secret an immense influence among a sable constituency in Charleston; and as he had the reputation of being invulnerable, and of teaching invulnerability as an art, he was very good at beating up recruits for insurrection. Over those of Angolese descent, especially, he was a perfect king, and made them join in the revolt as one man. They met him monthly at a place called Bulkley's Farm, selected because the black overseer on that plantation was one of the initiated, and because the farm was accessible by water, thus enabling them to elude the patrol. There they prepared cartridges and pikes, and had primitive banquets, which assumed a melodramatic character under the inspiring guidance of Jack. If a fowl was privately roasted, that mystic individual muttered incantations over it, and then they all grasped at it, exclaiming, 'Thus we pull Buckra to pieces!' He gave them parched corn and ground-nuts to be eaten as internal safeguards on the day before the outbreak, and a consecrated *cullah*, or crab's claw, to be carried in the mouth by each, as an amulet.—These rather questionable means secured him power which was very unquestionable; the witnesses examined in his presence all showed dread of his conjurations, and referred to him indirectly, with a kind of awe, as 'the little man who can't be shot.'

When Gullah Jack was otherwise engaged, there seems to have been a sort of deputy seer employed in the enterprise, a blind man named Philip. He was a preacher, was said to have been born with a caul on his head, and so claimed the gift of second-sight.—Timid adherents were brought to his house for ghostly counsel. 'Why do you look so timorous?' he said to William Garner, and then quoted Scripture, 'Let not your hearts be troubled.' That a blind man should know how he *looked* was beyond the philosophy of the visitor, and this piece of rather cheap ingenuity carried the day.

Other leaders were appointed also. Monday Gell was the scribe of the enterprise; he was a native African, who had learned to read and write. He was by trade a harness-maker, working chiefly on his own account. He confessed that he had written a letter to President Boyer of the new black republic; 'the letter was about the sufferings of the blacks, and to know if the people of St. Domingo would help them, if they made an effort to free themselves.' This epistle was sent by the black cook of a Northern schooner, and the envelope was addressed to a relative of the bearer.

Tom Russell was the armorer, and made pikes 'on a very improved model,' the official report admits. Polydore Faber fitted the weapons with handles. Bacchus Hammett had charge of the fire-arms and ammunition, not as yet a laborious duty. William Garner and Mingo Harth were to lead the horse-company. Lot Forrester was the courier, and had done, no one ever knew so much, in the way of enlisting country negroes, of whom Ned Bennett was to take command when enlisted. Being the Governor's servant, Ned was probably credited with some official experience. These were the officers: now for

THE PLAN OF ATTACK.

It was the custom then, as now, for the country negroes to flock largely into Charleston on Sunday. More than a thousand came, on ordinary occasions, and a far larger number might at any time make their appearance without exciting any suspicion. They gather-

ed in, especially by water, from the opposite side of Ashley and Cooper Rivers, and from the neighboring islands; and they came in a great number of canoes of various sizes—many of which could carry a hundred men—which were ordinarily employed in bringing agricultural products to the Charleston market. To get an approximate knowledge of the number, the city government once ordered the persons thus arriving to be counted—and that during the progress of the trials, at a time when the negroes were rather fearful of coming into town—and it was found that, even then, there were more than five hundred visitors on a single Sunday. This fact, then, was the essential point in the plan of insurrection. Whole plantations were found to have been enlisted among the 'candidates,' as they were termed; and it was proved that the city negroes who lived nearest the place of meeting had agreed to conceal these confederates in their houses to a large extent, on the night of the proposed outbreak.

The details of the plan, however, were not rashly committed to the mass of the confederates; they were known only to a few, and were finally to have been announced after the evening prayer-meeting on the appointed Sunday. But each leader had his own company enlisted, and his own work marked out. When the clock struck twelve, all were to move.—Peter Poyas was to lead a party ordered to assemble at South Bay, and to be joined by a force from James' Island; he was then to march up and seize the arsenal and guard-house opposite St. Michael's Church, and detach a sufficient number to cut off all white citizens who should appear at the alarm posts. A second body of negroes, from the country and the Neck, headed by Ned Bennett, was to assemble on the Neck, and seize the arsenal there. A third was to meet at Governor Bennett's Mills, under command of Rolla, and, after putting the Governor and Intendant to death, to march through the city, or be posted at Cannon's Bridge, thus preventing the inhabitants of Cannonsborough from entering the city. A fourth, partly from the country, and partly from the neighboring localities in the city, was to rendezvous on Gadsden's Wharf and attack the upper guard-house. A fifth, composed of country and Neck negroes, was to assemble at Bulkley's Farm, two miles and a half from the city, seize the upper powder-magazine and then march down; and a sixth was to assemble at Denmark Vesey's and obey his orders. A seventh detachment, under Gullah Jack, was to assemble in Boundary Street, at the head of King Street, to capture the arms of the Neck company of militia, and to take an additional supply from Mr. Duquercron's shop. The naval stores on Mey's Wharf were also to be attacked. Meanwhile a horse-company, consisting of many jaymen, hostlers, and butcher-boys, was to meet at Lightwood's Alley and then scour the streets to prevent the whites from assembling. Every white man coming out of his own door was to be killed, and, if necessary, the city was to be fired in several places—slow-match for this purpose having been purloined from the public arsenal and placed in an accessible position.

Beyond this, the plan of action was either unformed or undiscovered; some slight reliance seems to have been placed on English aid—more on assistance from St. Domingo; at any rate, all the ships in the harbor were to be seized, and in these, if the worst came to the worst, those most deeply inculturated could set sail, bearing with them, perhaps, the spoils of shops and of banks. It seems to be admitted by the official narrative, that they might have been able, at that season of the year, and with the aid of the fortifications on the Neck and around the harbor, to retain possession of the city for some time.

So unsuspecting were the authorities, so unprepared the citizens, so open to attack lay the city, that nothing seemed necessary to the success of the insurgents except organization and arms. Indeed, the plan of organization easily covered a supply of arms. By their

own contributions they had secured enough to strike the first blow—a few hundred pikes and daggers, together with swords and guns for the leaders. But they had carefully marked every place in the city where weapons were to be obtained. On King Street Road, beyond the municipal limits, in a common wooden shop, were left unguarded the arms of the Neck company of militia, to the number of several hundred stand; and these were to be secured by Bacchus Hammett, whose master kept the establishment. In Mr. Duquercron's shop there were deposited for sale as many more weapons; and they had noted Mr. Schirer's shop in Queen Street, and other gunsmiths' establishments. Finally, the State arsenal in Meeting Street, a building with no defences except ordinary wooden doors, was to be seized early in the outbreak. Provided, therefore, that the first moves proved successful, all the rest appeared sure.

Very little seems to have been said among the conspirators in regard to any plans of riot or debauchery, subsequent to the capture of the city. Either their imaginations did not dwell on them, or the witnesses did not dare to give testimony, or the authorities to print it. Death was to be dealt out, comprehensive and terrible; but nothing more is mentioned. One prisoner, Rolla, is reported in the evidence to have dropped hints in regard to the destiny of the women; and there was a rumor in the newspapers of the time, that he, or some other of Gov. Bennett's slaves, was to have taken the Governor's daughter, a young girl of sixteen, for his wife, in the event of success; but this is all. On the other hand, Denmark Vesey was known to be for a war of immediate and total extermination; and when some of the company opposed killing 'the ministers and the women and children,' Vesey read from the Scriptures that all should be cut off, and said that 'it was for their safety not to leave one white skin alive, for this was the plan they pursued at St. Domingo.' And all this was not a mere dream of one lonely enthusiast, but a measure which had been maturing for four full years among several confederates, and had been under discussion for five months among multitudes of initiated 'candidates.'

As usual with slave-insurrections, the best men and those most trusted were deepest in the plot. Rolla was the only prominent conspirator who was not an active Church member. 'Most of the ringleaders,' says a Charleston letter-writer of that day, 'were the rulers or class leaders in what is called the African Society, and were considered faithful, honest fellows.' Indeed, many of the owners could not be convinced, till the fellows confessed themselves, that they were concerned, and that the first object of all was to kill their masters. And the first official report declares that it would not be difficult to assign a motive for the insurrectionists, 'if it had not been distinctly proved, that, with scarcely an exception, they had no individual hardship to complain of, and were among the most humanely treated negroes in the city.—The facilities for combining and confederating in such a scheme were amply afforded by the extreme indulgence and kindness which characterizes the domestic treatment of the slaves. Many slave-owners among us, not satisfied with ministering to the wants of their domestics by all the comforts of abundant food and excellent clothing, with a misguided benevolence have not only permitted their instruction, but lent to such efforts their approbation and applause.'

'I sympathize most sincerely,' says the anonymous author of a pamphlet of the period 'with the very respectable and pious clergyman whose heart must still bleed at the recollection that his confidential class-leader, but a week or two before his just conviction, had received the communion of the Lord's Supper from his hand. This wretch had been brought up in the pastor's family, and was treated with the same Christian attention as was shown to their own children.' 'To us who are accustomed to the base and proverbial ingratitude of these people this ill return of kindness and

confidence is not surprising; but they who are ignorant of their real character will read and wonder.'

One demonstration of this 'Christian attention' had lately been the closing of the African Church—of which, as has been stated, most of the leading revolutionists were members—on the ground that it tended to spread the dangerous infection of the alphabet. On January 15th, 1821, the City Marshal, John L. Lafar, had notified 'ministers of the gospel and others who keep night and Sunday schools for slaves, that the education of such persons is forbidden by law, and that the city government feel imperiously bound to enforce the penalty.' So that there were some special, as well as general grounds for disaffection among these ungrateful favorites of Fortune, the slaves. Then there were fancied dangers. An absurd report had somehow arisen—since you cannot keep men ignorant without making them unreasonable also—that on the ensuing Fourth of July the whites were to create a false alarm, and that every black man coming out was to be killed, 'in order to thin them'; this being done to prevent their joining an imaginary army supposed to be on its way from Hayti. Others were led to suppose that Congress had ended the Missouri Compromise discussion by making them all free, and that the law would protect their liberty, if they could only secure it. Others again were threatened with the vengeance of the conspirators, unless they also joined; on the night of attack, it was said, the initiated would have a countersign, and all who did not know it would share the fate of the whites.—Add to this the reading of Congressional speeches, and of the copious magazine of revolution to be found in the Bible—and it was no wonder, if they for the first time were roused, under the energetic leadership of Vesey, to a full consciousness of their own condition.

'Not only were the leaders of good character and very much indulged by their owners, but this was very generally the case with all who were convicted—many of them possessing the highest confidence of their owners, and not one of bad character.' In one case it was proved that Vesey had forbidden his followers to trust a certain man, because he had once been seen intoxicated. In another case it was shown that a slave named George had made every effort to obtain their confidence, but was constantly excluded from their meetings as a talkative fellow who could not be trusted—a policy which his levity of manner, when examined in court, fully justified. They took no women into counsel—not from any distrust apparently, but in order that their children might not be left uncared for, in case of defeat and destruction. House-servants were rarely trusted, or only when they had been carefully sounded by the chief leaders. Peter Poyas, in commissioning an agent to enlist men, give him excellent cautions:—'Don't mention it to those waiting-men who receive presents of old coats, etc., from their masters, or they'll betray us; *I will speak to them.*' When he did speak, if he did not convince them, he at last frightened them; but the chief reliance was on the slaves hired out and therefore more uncontrolled—and also upon the country negroes.

The same far-sighted policy directed the conspirators to disarm suspicion by peculiarly obedient and orderly conduct. And it shows the precaution with which the thing was carried on, that, although Peter Poyas was proved to have had a list of some six hundred persons, yet not one of his particular company was ever brought to trial. As each leader kept to himself the names of his proselytes, and as Monday Gell was the only one of these who turned traitor, any opinion as to the numbers actually engaged must appear altogether conjectural. One witness said nine thousand; another, six thousand six hundred. These statements were probably extravagant, though not more so than Gov. Bennett's assertion, on the other side, that 'all who were actually concerned had been brought to justice'—unless by this phrase he designates only

the ringleaders. The avowed aim of the Governor's letter, indeed, is to smooth the thing over, for the credit and safety of the city;—and its evasive tone contrasts strongly with the more frank and thorough statements of the Judges, made after the thing could no longer be hushed up. These best authorities explicitly acknowledge that they had failed to detect more than a small majority of those concerned in the project, and seem to admit, that, if it had once been brought to a head, the slaves generally would have joined in.

'We cannot venture to say,' says the Intendant's pamphlet, 'to how many the knowledge of the intended effort was communicated, who, without signifying their assent, or attending any of the meetings, were yet prepared to profit by events. That there are many who would not have permitted the enterprise to have failed at a critical moment, for the want of their co-operation, we have the best reason for believing.' So believed the community at large; and the panic was in proportion, when the whole danger was finally made public. 'The scenes I witnessed,' says one who has since narrated the circumstances, 'and the declaration of the impending danger that met us at all times and on all occasions, forced the conviction that never were an entire people more thoroughly alarmed than were the people of Charleston at that time. . . . During the excitement and the trial of the supposed conspirators, rumor proclaimed all, and doubtless more than all, the horrors of the plot. The city was to be fired in every quarter, the arsenal in the immediate vicinity was to be broken open and the arms distributed to the insurgents, and an universal massacre of the white inhabitants to take place. Nor did there seem to be any doubt in the mind of the people that such would actually have been the result, had not the plot fortunately been detected before the time appointed for the outbreak. It was believed, as a matter of course, that every black in the city would join in the insurrection, and that, if the original design had been attempted, and the city taken by surprise, the negroes would have achieved a complete and easy victory. Nor does it seem at all impossible that such might have been or yet may be the case, if any well arranged and resolute rising should take place.'

Indeed, this universal admission that all the slaves were ready to take part in any desperate enterprise, was one of the most startling aspects of the affair. The authorities say that the two principal State's evidence declared that 'they never spoke to a person of color on the subject, or knew of any one who had been spoken to by the other leaders, who had withheld his assent.' And the conspirators seem to have been perfectly satisfied that all the remaining slaves would enter their ranks upon the slightest success. 'Let us assemble a sufficient number to commence the work with spirit, and we'll not want men;—they'll fall in behind us fast enough.' And as an illustration of this readiness, the official report mentions a slave who had belonged to one master for sixteen years sustaining a high character for fidelity and affection, who had twice traveled with him through the Northern States, resisting every solicitation to escape, and who yet was very deeply concerned in the insurrection, though knowing it to involve the probable destruction of the whole family with whom he lived.

One singular circumstance followed the first rumors of the plot. Several white men, said to be of low and unprincipled character, at once began to make interest with the supposed leaders among the slaves, either from genuine sympathy, or with the intention of betraying them for money, or of profiting by the insurrection, should it succeed. Four of these were brought to trial; but the official report expresses the opinion that many more might have been discovered but for the inadmissibility of slave testimony against whites. Indeed, the evidence against even these four was insufficient for a capital conviction, although one was overheard, through stratagem, by the Intendant himself, and ar-

rested on the spot. This man was a Scotch man, another a Spaniard, a third a German, and the fourth a Carolinian. The last had for thirty years kept a shop in the neighborhood of Charleston; he was proved to have asserted that 'the negroes had as much right to fight for their liberty as the white people,' had offered to head them in the enterprise, and had said that in three weeks he would have two thousand men. But in no case, it appears, did these men obtain the confidence of the slaves, and the whole plot was conceived and organized, so far as appears, without the slightest co-operation from any white man.

[CONCLUDED NEXT MONTH.]

SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

In our last *Monthly* we published a letter from Mr. HAUGHTON on the above subject.—Since then we have received the *Sligo* (Ireland) *Champion*, containing a second letter from Mr. H., which is as follows:

DEAR SIR:—In my letter on the above subject of 2d inst., in reply to Capt. McGowan, and which you kindly give to your readers, I dwelt on those great principles of freedom which it has always been my aim to keep in view before the minds of my countrymen, and which are paramount to all the other incidents of slavery, relating to food, clothing, kind or unkind treatment, &c. These, every reflecting man must know vary, according to the temper and disposition of the slaveholder. Some men are naturally disposed to kindness, others to cruelty; but in the case of slavery, it is a mere question of degree; all slaveholders are cruel; some are less so than others. The whole history of our race proves that man can never be safely trusted with irresponsible power; and such power all slaveholders are given by law. If your space permitted me, I could readily give you the decisions of American Judges to that effect.

Practically, whatever may be the amount of cruelty inflicted, the slave has no appeal, or redress. Some few rights are apparently conceded by statute, in a few of the States, but these are destroyed by the stern decree of the law, that no colored person can give evidence against a white man. A murder may be, and often is, committed before many slaves, but no punishment can follow, as there is no legal evidence of the deed done. Public opinion alone guards the slave from abuse, and that affords him but poor protection, as I shall presently prove. When O'Connell was living, his manly voice was often heard on behalf of the slave, and he made the soulless Irishmen who apologized for slavery tremble at his terrible denunciation of the wrong. Oh! that we always had such a man living among us, to advocate the rights of the wronged everywhere. 'Though dead, he still speaketh.' Hear his indignant words:

'Of all men living, an American citizen, who is the owner of slaves, (owner was a wrong term—no man can own another, he holds him by fraud, which gives no title,) is the most despicable; he is a political hypocrite of the very worst description. The friends of humanity and liberty in Europe should join in one universal cry of shame on the American slaveholders! Base wretches, should we shout in chorus—base wretches, how dare you profane the temple of national freedom, the sacred fane of republican rites, with the presence and the sufferings of human beings in chains and slavery.'

I could fill your sheet with such noble words, but I hurry on to refute Captain McGowan's statements as to kind treatment, by one who was himself a slave, but who shook off his chains, and has been for years not only a free man, but one of the most intelligent men of his age. As a writer and an orator, he has few equals, and not many superiors; and yet this man was long subjected to the stripes of many masters—I refer to Frederick Douglass. I know him well, and he is widely known in America. From his own narrative of his life, I give a few extracts, and his credibility as a faithful and true witness, touching the

wrongs of his race in America, is borne testimony to in two prefaces to his little work by William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips—men so widely honored and esteemed, that none—save slaveholders—would desire further recommendation. I know the parties well, and I esteem it one of the great pleasures of my life to be called their friends.

That slaves are often kindly treated, is quite true; many of them are well fed and well clothed. Large numbers of domestic servants may be placed in this class; and there are a few employed in confidential situations, who are found so able and so faithful, that many privileges are granted to them.—Some are even allowed to purchase their freedom, but many of these poor fellows, after acquiring the stipulated sum, are heartlessly robbed of all by cruel masters, and then sold down South as dangerous fellows, where a life-long misery awaits them. The great mass of the slave population are, however, those engaged in field labor, and for these no hope dawns; an almost unvarying rigor is their hard lot; and so horribly cruel is their treatment, that one-half would be disbelieved by those who have not made an inquiry into their condition an object of anxious interest. I should despair of securing a patient hearing, if I detailed atrocities which are of daily occurrence. Now, I shall let Mr. Douglass speak for himself:—

'I never saw my mother, to know her as such, more than four or five times in my life; and each of these times was of very short duration, and at night.'

'Mr. Plummer (the overseer) was a miserable drunkard, a profane swearer, and a savage monster. I have known him to cut and slash the women's heads so horribly, that even master would be enraged at him. Master, however, was not a humane slaveholder.'

'The men and women slaves received, as their monthly allowance of food, eight pounds of pork, or its equivalent in fish, and one bushel of corn (Indian) meal. Their yearly clothing consisted of two coarse linen sheets, one pair of linen trousers, one jacket, one pair trousers (of coarse negro cloth) for winter, one pair of stockings, and one pair of shoes.'

'No beds were given, unless one coarse blanket be considered such. This, however, is not considered a great privation. They find less difficulty from want of beds, than from want of time to sleep.'

'They never knew when they were safe from punishment. They were frequently whipped when least deserving of it. I have seen Col. Lloyd make old Barney, a man between fifty and sixty years of age, uncover his bald head, kneel down upon the cold, damp ground, and receive, upon his naked and toil-worn shoulders, more than thirty lashes at a time.'

'Mr. Gore acted fully up to the maxim laid down by slaveholders—"It is better that a dozen slaves suffer under the lash, than that the overseer should be convicted, in the presence of the slaves, of having been at fault." Mr. Gore then, without consultation or deliberation with any one, raised his musket to his face, taking deadly aim at his standing victim, and in an instant poor Demby was no more. His fame as an overseer went abroad. His horrid crime was not even submitted to judicial investigation.'

'I had but resided a short time in Baltimore before I observed a marked difference in the treatment of slaves. He is better fed and clothed. Few are unwilling to incur the odium of being a cruel master. There are, however, some painful exceptions to this rule.'

Mr. Douglass' account of how he learned to read and write by stealth—these acquirements being strictly forbidden to slaves—is highly interesting, but I must pass that by.

'Each cocked his pistol, and, with fingers on trigger, walked up to Henry, saying, at the same time, if he did not cross his hands, they would blow his damned heart out.—"Shoot me, shoot me!" said Henry, "you can't kill me but once. Shoot, shoot—and be damned! I won't be tied."

'I have observed this in my experience of slavery—that whenever my condition was improved, instead of its increasing my contentment, it only increased my desire to be free. I was now getting one dollar and fifty cents per day. I contracted for it; I earned it; it was paid to me; it was rightfully my own; yet, upon each Saturday evening I was compelled to deliver every cent of that money to Master Hugh. And why? Not because he earned it—not because I owed it to him; not because he had a right to it; but solely because he had the power to compel me to give it up.'

'It is my opinion that thousands would escape from slavery, who now remain, but for the strong cords of affection that bind them to their friends. The thought of leaving friends was decidedly the most painful thought with which I had to contend.'

'The wretchedness of slavery, and the blessedness of freedom were perpetually before me. In writing to a dear friend, immediately after my arrival in New York, I said I felt like one who had escaped from a den of hungry lions.'

I conclude my extracts with one from one of the most eminent statesmen America has produced—President Jefferson. (a slaveholder.)

'The whole commerce between master and slave, is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to the worst of passions; and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities.'

Such is the condition of affairs in the Southern States of America. Such is the condition of affairs which Captain McGowan (an Irishman) lauds to the skies, and wishes to see his countrymen placed in. Countrymen, such is not the condition in which I desire to see any of you placed; my wish is, to see you stand up like men—at home and abroad—in whatever land your lot may be cast, I want you to be bold in defence of the wronged; ever on the side of outraged humanity. A voice within you tells you that I am right; obey that voice, and men will honor you, and God will reward you. I do not say that every Irishman in America is opposed to the rights of the colored men, for such is not the case. I hope there are many noble exceptions to that general rule, but it is a disgrace and a dishonor to our name, that many of them are on the wrong side.

I reply to Mr. McGowan, there are no 'white slaves in Sligo,' nor did I ever see men stolen in Ireland.' I again thank you, Mr. Editor, for allowing me to appeal to Irishmen through your columns. The seed I am sowing broadcast may, some of it, fall on strong hearts, but a portion of it will be received into good ground; may it produce good fruit—some thirty, some sixty, some an hundred fold.'

Faithfully yours,

JAMES HAUGHTON.

35, Eccles St., Dublin, April 19, 1861.

NOBLE CONDUCT OF A KENTUCKIAN—The Cincinnati *Press* says that a gentleman recently came to that city from Kentucky and emancipated a negro under the following singular circumstances: The negro had been seized in Indiana, near the border, some months ago, and cast into jail in Kentucky. An order was at length issued for his sale, under the statute, there being no claimant for him. There was no doubt that the man was born free, but he was without the necessary evidence to establish the fact, and in order that he might be rescued from slavery, a gentleman in that neighborhood purchased him for between \$700 and \$800, and came to Cincinnati and had his free papers made out in the presence of several well known citizens.—He then left for his home in Kentucky. We learn that the gentleman who did this noble deed is himself poor, and by no means able to incur this expense.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the Church Anti-Slavery Society, at the Tremont Temple, Boston, on Tuesday, May 28th, opened with prayer by the honored apostle of liberty from Kentucky, Rev. JOHN G. FEE. A forcible address followed by the President, and Report by the Secretary, reviewing in a succinct and truthful manner the complicity and blood-guiltiness of the American Church with slavery the last year.

The Secretary (Rev. HENRY T. CHEEVER) submitted the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

1. Resolved, That, in view of the grave aspect of our national affairs, and the state of open rebellion against the Federal Government, on the part of ten of the States of our Confederacy, for no other cause than slavery, the chief anxiety felt by us as a Society of Christian Patriots, has not been—as lately intimated by an eloquent voice from over the sea—for the dissolution of the National body, but for the death of the Nation's soul—not lest there should be a rending of States, and civil war, but lest there should be reconciliation and peace at the expense of a deadly compromise of principle.

2. Resolved, That we believe with the same clear-headed and earnest writer, (Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning,) looking on, from abroad, upon the astonishing events now transpiring in this country, that 'nothing can destroy the Republic but what corrupts its conscience; that if the North stand fast on the moral ground, no glory will be like our glory; that our foes may be of our own household, but our friends must be among all just and righteous men, whether in the body or out of the body.' Compacted about, therefore, with so great a cloud of witnesses, we can afford to risk anything except conscience.

3. Resolved, That we fully concur in the position taken by the late annual meeting of the Society in New York, viz: that the true policy for the National Administration, in its present tremendous struggle with domestic treason and conspiracy, plainly is, inasmuch as the unnatural war into which it is forced is a pro-slavery war on the part of the rebels, to make it an *anti-slavery war on the part of the Government*, and so to commend itself to the friends of impartial liberty everywhere, to the consciences of the good, to the sympathy of universal Christendom, and to the favor of Almighty God.

4. Resolved, That from the conviction which is forced upon us, that God is now exercising judgment with the nation for the long-cherished sin of slaveholding; and from a deep sense of dependence upon God only, for a safe issue in freedom to our country, and to the enslaved portion of it especially, out of the present struggle, we earnestly recommend to the churches, and to all praying people, that they observe a concert of prayer for the enslaved, and for our country, on the third Sabbath evening, or third Monday evening of each month of the year.

Rev. Dr. BLANCHARD, President of Wheaton College, Ill., preached from Psalm xciv., 29: Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with Thee, which frameth mischief by a law? The subject of the discourse was, God is the author of law.

The speaker said, this Society regards slaveholding as a throne of iniquity. This Society is to oppose slavery till it is destroyed. This is done by associating the churches of this country in a contest with slavery.—This is necessary, for the press and the pulpit of the South are unanimous in the defence of slavery, and many apologists are found at the North. Prominent among these is Dr. Rice of New York, who received some attention from the speaker, as a representative of a class of erring Christians. Dr. Leonard Bacon was also referred to as a representative of another class of mistaken men. Dr. Bacon would retain the slaveholder in Christian fellowship, which is plainly wrong.

The preacher then explained the system of Hebrew servitude, and claimed that it could not be quoted in defence of the system of iniquity which our country upholds. The Hebrew bondman was not a slave in the dire significance of the word at the present day. He gained by circumcision all the rights of the Hebrew citizen. There was also provision for the extinction of the system, and Dr.

Barnes rationally supposes that our Savior might not have met a slave in Palestine during all his life. The speaker argued further that the New Testament churches were not slaveholding churches.

The sermon was followed by the reading of a letter from Rev. WM. GOODELL, of the *Principia*, New York, who recommended that 'the Church of the Puritans, and its absent pastor, Rev. Dr. Cheever, receive at this time the warm sympathies and prayers of the Church Anti-Slavery Society. Not that any new or strange thing has happened to them, more than to scores, if not hundreds of others, within the last twenty five years. But that this, the latest instance, and considering the circumstances, and the central position of the persecuted, one of the most remarkable and most audacious, deserves, at this time, particular attention, and should be remembered, and have a place in the history of these wonderful times.'

The letter was submitted to a committee consisting of Rev. Dr. BLANCHARD, Hon. I. WASHBURN, and Rev. GEORGE TRASK, with instructions to report at the business meeting in the afternoon, what action, if any, should be taken by the Society upon it. Said Committee, in the afternoon session, at the Melbacon, reported as follows:

EX-PARTE COUNCIL ON THE CHURCH OF THE PURITANS.

Whereas, an Ex-Parte Council of Congregational Churches met by pastors and delegates on May 21, 1861, and after hearing certain disaffected and suspended members of the Church of the Puritans, came to a 'result,' in which they recommend that the fellowship of the Congregational Churches in this country be withdrawn from said Church; and,

Whereas, the present difficulties in the Church of the Puritans have followed, and, in our judgment, FLOWED from the testimony of the pastor of said Church against the Slave Power in this country; and,

Whereas, said Council have submitted their result to the world at large, through the secular papers, and to the household of faith in particular, through the religious papers—

We, therefore, as a Church Anti-Slavery Society, and constituting, in a qualified sense, a Standing Council of the Churches with reference to Slavery, submit to the Churches the following as some of our objections to said Ex-Parte Council and its 'result':

I. We object that it was called in the absence of the Pastor, the natural defender and representative of the Church, whose return from Europe was confidently expected within some eight weeks from the time when the Council was held.

II. We object that said Council should attempt, so far as within them lay, to excommunicate a Church of Jesus Christ from the fellowship of His saints, for no alleged heresy or apostasy, but on the sole ground of alleged irregular and violent action, which action was taken when the Church was in trouble. The Pastor was in Europe. The Church naturally declined the jurisdiction of a Council which they had no hand in calling, and after they had previously denied the request for a Mutual Council by a vote of 7 to 12, as not needing its advice in their affairs.

No Committee from the Church appeared before the Council, nor was any one heard on the part of the majority; and neither the Records of the Church nor copies from the Records were produced before the Council. Yet does this Council try and condemn, and, so far as it can, would annihilate that Church under such circumstances.

III. We, therefore, for these and other reasons, which in our brief report there is not room to set forth, do recommend to all Congregational Pastors and Churches totally to disregard the advice of said Council—still to regard the Church of the Puritans as a sister Church in affliction, and to regard the action of said Council as erroneous, dangerous, and unscriptural.

This Report, after full and free discussion, was unanimously adopted, together with the following resolution, submitted by LEWIS TAPPAN of New York:

Resolved, That we highly approve of the manly and Christian efforts made by the Rev. Dr. Cheever during his present sojourn in Great Britain, in advocating there the cause of the Christian Anti-Slavery movement in this country, and urging upon the British public the

duty and wisdom of not recognizing the Southern Confederacy; and we rejoice that God has raised up and sustained that eminent and beloved brother in vindicating the cause of righteousness, both in his own country and in other nations.

The officers of the Society were re-elected, together with a long list of honorary Vice Presidents.

A resolution was afterward adopted, pursuant to a suggestion from WILLIAM GOODELL, which elicited a warm discussion:

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Ministry and Churches to circulate and sign a memorial to the President of the United States that, as the Chief Magistrate of the Nation—the minister of God for good, not bearing the sword in vain—and having the undoubted constitutional right, by the war power with which he is intrusted, to 'proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof'—that he call, by proclamation, upon all the inhabitants of the United States, of all conditions, bond and free, to aid in supporting the Government, assuring them of its impartial protection under the common flag of our National Union and Freedom.

A Petition was forthwith drawn up, and signed by upwards of twenty-five representative clergymen of different denominations, from all parts of the country.

After a recess, the session opened with prayer by Rev. J. S. GREEN of the Sandwich Islands.

Rev. SAMUEL HUNT of Franklin, Mass., introduced a resolution to the effect that the Executive Committee be instructed to prepare an appeal to the Christian public, urging them to use every legitimate means to prevent any peace with the South, which does not involve the removal of slavery, the guilty cause of all our troubles.

Rev. H. T. CHEEVER, I. T. HUTCHINS of Danielsville, Ct., Rev. C. B. SMITH of Gloucester, and Rev. ELNATHAN DAVIS of Fitchburg, supported the resolution.

Mr. CHEEVER, the Secretary, said that it was their duty to give a correct tone to the public mind, so that the war be not permitted to end while there is a shackle upon a single slave. He believed the politicians at Washington desired to be pushed to an advanced stand on this subject. Some of them had been heard to say, 'Only tell us what to do, and we will do it. Let the people who give us the money and the men, demand that we abolish slavery, and we will do it. Let the Northern ministers make and declare public sentiment, and we at Washington will execute that sentiment, even to the wiping out of slavery by this war. But we will do it so that nobody shall have a right to complain.'

Mr. HUTCHINS said, though he had belonged to the Peace Society, its meetings had now become war meetings, and he had found himself praying that the sword be not sheathed while there is a slave in the land.

Rev. Mr. SMITH, of Gloucester, said that the people were hurrahing for the Union, but they cared little for the slaves. He was never so disheartened as now, in consequence of the hostility of the press and the pulpit to genuine abolitionism. If the slaves are freed in the present war, it will be in spite of the present intent of the Government and the Churches.

Rev. E. DAVIS, of Fitchburg, on the other hand, saw much of encouragement in the present aspect of the country. If the South-side pulpit had yielded to the public pressure, and to the requisitions of a visiting committee, and had pronounced strongly for the war, so the South-side pulpit would yet yield to the pressure of the people, and when pushed would pronounce as strongly for abolitionism, and we should yet see the miracle made good of South-side Adams and the Senior Pastor of the Old South marching shoulder to shoulder with Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

LEWIS TAPPAN said that there was a constant progress in the anti-slavery cause. This cause stands better to-day than ever before. The speaker was afraid there would be peace before the war had done its work. The insults which the South heap upon the North

are the most pleasing items of news that he reads in these days. These insults will spur up the North to their duty. He hoped the rebels would not back down, till the work of liberating the slaves was done. He feared that the action of the North was occasioned by an insult to our flag, and not by love to the slave and the spirit of the Gospel. He hoped that President Lincoln would proclaim liberty to all the slaves in the country, and that he might live as long as Methuselah to enjoy it. These were glorious days. God was moving, and even Gen. Butler was at last converted. He had corresponded with Gov. Andrew in reference to the General's returning slaves in Maryland, and His Excellency informed him that he had told Gen. Butler it was a great military blunder, and must not be repeated. And now we learn by telegraph that Butler refuses to return fugitives, and declares them contraband of war. He received every insult and aggression of the South upon the North with joy, because it gave strength to the anti-slavery sentiment. When 20,000 of our young men have been slain, the North will understand what they are fighting for, and his prayer was that war may continue till the North was converted. If Everett and Dr. Adams were South, they would be secessionists—it is the flag they now care for, not the slave; when the first-born of every family shall have been slain, people will then say it is best to let the slaves go.

Mr. FEE said he approved of the resolution. The people not only look to us for light in respect to the evils of slavery, but they also look to us for light as to the way in which slavery is to be abolished. Ideas govern the world. Let us get before the minds of the people the idea that the President or Congress can legitimately abolish slavery, and that sin will lie at the door of the people, unless they urge the exercise of this power, and then the power will be used, and that right speedily.

After further discussion, the resolution was unanimously adopted.

Rev. Mr. WEBSTER moved the adoption of this expression of the judgment of the Society upon the 'Slaveholding Heresy':

Resolved, That if the helpless slave be the least of Christ's human brethren, and so His appointed representative on earth, then to hold him as property is to ignore if not to deny his human nature, and is a practical denial, therefore, of Christ's human nature also, in the person of His representative, and, like the denial of his divine nature, it is a virtual abjuring of the Christian religion, and the very worst form of infidelity.

There being no time for discussion, this was left to the Executive Committee to be again reported, together with a resolution to the effect that measures be taken to secure a register of all those churches which, by their action, have withdrawn, or shall withdraw their fellowship from slaveholders.

The Society then adjourned to the public meeting for addresses at the Temple in the evening, when the following resolutions were submitted by the Secretary:

1. Resolved, That the Church Anti-Slavery Society has heard, with deep regret, that the United States officers in command of Forts Pickens and Monroe have been gratuitously forward in sending back to their masters slaves which had escaped and fled to those forts for protection, and that Gen. Butler offered to employ the troops of Massachusetts in keeping down the slaves of Maryland.

2. Resolved, That we take occasion to declare—as representing no inconsiderable portion of a generous people who have sprung to arms, with a unanimity little short of miraculous, in defence of the Government—that if such things have been done in the course of this war, by permission of the powers that be, it is a hazardous experiment, to try with an indignant people, whose experience of the foul spirit of slavery in this war is fast bringing them to the stern resolve that slaveholding shall cease at once and forever from the country, which it has so long cursed.

3. Resolved, That we deem it important for the General Government to bear in mind, that the millions of the Free States who offer themselves and their money, who are willing to sacrifice and to suffer in maintaining the integrity

and freedom of our country, are not so doing for the purpose of enabling the rebels to hunt or to hold their slaves; that conjointly with this war, forced upon us by nothing but slavery, the slave-catching vocation of the Free States must come to an end; and the sooner, therefore, this fact is seen and acted upon by all our authorities, civil and military, the better and safer will it be both for the Government and the people.

4. Resolved, That we deem it of the utmost importance that the colored population of our land, whether free or slave, be made to understand distinctly, that the North is now their friend, and that they are to be benefited by the success of the Free States in this righteous war; and we hold it to be strictly true, as presented by one of the leading minds of the country, that, let the colored race become convinced, by the action of our troops or of our civil authorities, that we are indifferent or hostile to their elevation; or let the fear prevail with the slaves—confused as they are likely to be, by what is transpiring—that if the North shall succeed, then slavery will still be perpetuated, only with the changes of ownership, the Southern boast that slaves will fight for their masters and their homes will then, almost certainly be made good.

5. Resolved, That, in our judgment, the guiding star, through the war into which we have been forced, is the purpose of God in regard to slavery as made known by his word, His spirit, and His providence; and if our Government be still dreaming that this struggle can be successful, while the laws of Jehovah are ignored, and His command, 'LET THE OPPRESSED GO FREE,' is disregarded, then there is preparing for us a terrible awakening.

Another resolution of the series quotes at length from the celebrated speech of John Quincy Adams in 1842, and declares with confidence that, in the order of Divine Providence, the time has come for the people and the Government to avail themselves of the rights of the war power, as argued by John Quincy Adams, and to declare an act of emancipation, as the only means of averting the horrors of a wide-spread and most bloody servile insurrection.

Rev. ELNATHAN DAVIS, of Fitchburg, spoke to the resolutions—mainly to the first, in reference to Gen. Butler, and then in regard to the time-serving of ministers and of the religious press.

Rev. A. F. BAILEY, of Marlboro', regarded the war as an old affair, after all; it had been smouldering for an entire generation—for thirty years, if not more, it has been waging; and if it be not a war against slavery, we construe it to be such by our faith in the God who ruleth the hearts of princes and lawgivers. The Church, he held, had been, thus far, the bulwark of slavery. Now it should do its duty; and the ministers that had been so long and so ultra conservative, in Methodist phrase, should come to the mourners' bench, and make a clean bosom of their sins. He believed that Abraham Lincoln would be found true to liberty, and that brother Garrison would prove to have not spent thirty of his best years in vain. (Applause.)

Rev. J. A. THOME, of Cleveland, Ohio, a native of Kentucky, a son of a slaveholder, was the next speaker, and entered his solemn testimony against the brutalizing tendency of slavery, not upon slaves only, but upon the masters and their families. He alluded to a visit of his to this city thirty years ago. Ever since then, he had been a true anti-slavery man. Some men think that slavery is the greatest evil next to sin. But slavery is sin, and should be opposed by every possible means.

Rev. J. G. FEE, of Kentucky, who emancipated his slaves, and has fought slavery ever since, said that it is the inspiration of the hour that slavery must die. The religious sentiment is about to decide the question which politics has failed to decide.

The resolutions were adopted, and the meeting closed with the benediction, after a collection in aid of the Society.

—No pitched battle has yet taken place, although skirmishing is actively going on on both sides. The general opinion seems to be that nothing decisive will take place until the meeting of Congress on the 4th.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS ON THE WAR POWER IN RELATION TO SLAVERY AND EMANCIPATION.

The following are extracts from the memorable speech of John Quincy Adams, delivered in the U. S. House of Representatives, April 14th and 15th, 1842, on war with Great Britain and Mexico:

What I say is involuntary, because the subject (slavery) has been brought into the House from another quarter, as the gentleman himself admits. I would leave that institution to the exclusive consideration and management of the States more peculiarly interested in it, just so long as they can keep within their own bounds. So far I admit that Congress has no power to meddle with it. As long as they do not step out of their own bounds, and do not put the question to the people of the U. S., whose peace, welfare and happiness are all at stake, so long I will agree to leave them to themselves. But when a member from a free State brings forward certain resolutions, for which, instead of reasoning to disprove his positions, you vote a censure upon him, and that without hearing, it is quite another affair. At the time this was done, I said that as far as I could understand the resolutions proposed by the gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. Giddings,) there were some of them for which I was ready to vote, and some which I must vote against; and I will now tell this House, my constituents, and the world of mankind, that the resolution against which I would have voted was that in which he declares that what are called the slave States have the exclusive right of consultation on the subject of slavery. For that resolution I never would vote, because I believe that it is not just, and does not contain constitutional doctrine. I believe that, so long as the slave States are able to sustain their institutions without going abroad or calling upon other parts of the Union to aid them or act on the subject, so long I will consent never to interfere. I have said this, and I repeat it; but if they come to the free States, and say to them, you must help us to keep down our slaves, you must aid us in an insurrection and a civil war, then I say that with that call comes a full and plenary power to this House and to the Senate over the whole subject. It is a war power.—I say it is a war power, and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and must carry it on according to the laws of war; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and martial law takes the place of them. This power in Congress has, perhaps never been called into exercise under the present Constitution of the United States.—But when laws of war are in force, what, I ask, is one of those laws? It is this: that when a country is invaded, and two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory. Nor is this a mere theoretic statement. The history of South America shows that the doctrine has been carried into practical execution within the last thirty years. Slavery was abolished in Columbia, first, by the Spanish General Murillo, and, secondly, by the American General Bolivar. It was abolished by virtue of a military command given at the head of the army, and its abolition continued to be law to this day. It was abolished by the laws of war, and not by municipal enactments;—the power was exercised by military commanders, under instructions, of course, from their respective governments. And here I recur again to the example of Gen. Jackson. What are you now about in Congress? You are about passing a grant to refund to Gen. Jackson the amount of a certain fine imposed upon him by a Judge under the laws of the State of Louisiana. You are going to refund him the money with interest; and this you are going to do because the imposition of the fine was unjust. And why was it unjust?—Because Gen. Jackson was acting under the

laws of war, and because the moment you place a military commander in a district which is the theatre of war, the laws of war apply to that district. * * *

I might furnish a thousand proofs to show that the pretensions of gentlemen to the sanctity of their municipal institutions under a state of actual invasion and of actual war, whether servile, civil or foreign, is wholly unfounded, and that the laws of war do, in all such cases, take the precedence. I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and slavery among the rest; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves. I have given here more in detail a principle which I have asserted on this floor before now, and of which I have no more doubt than that you, sir, occupy that chair. I give it in its development, in order that any gentleman from any part of the Union may, if he thinks proper, deny the truth of the position, and may maintain his denial;—not by indignation, not by passion and fury, but by sound and sober reasoning from the laws of nations and the laws of war. And if my position can be answered and refuted, I shall receive the refutation with pleasure; I shall be glad to listen to reason, aside, as I say, from indignation and passion. And if, by the force of reasoning, my understanding can be convinced, I here pledge myself to recant what I have asserted.

Let my position be answered; let me be told, let my constituents be told, the people of my State be told—a State whose soil tolerates not the foot of a slave—that they are bound by the Constitution to a long and toil some march under burning summer suns and a deadly Southern clime for the suppression of a servile war; that they are bound to leave their bodies to rot upon the sands of Carolina, to leave their wives, widows and their children orphans; that those who cannot march are bound to pour out their treasures while their sons or brothers are pouring out their blood to suppress a servile, combined with a civil or a foreign war, and yet that there exists no power beyond the limits of the slave State where such war is raging to emancipate the slaves. I say, let this be proved; I am open to conviction; but till that conviction comes, I put it forth not as a dictate of feeling, but as a settled maxim of the law of nations, that in such a case, the military supersedes the civil power; and on this account I should have been obliged to vote, as I have said, against one of the resolutions of my excellent friend from Ohio, (Mr. Giddings,) or should at least have required that it be amended in conformity with the Constitution of the United States.

It is remarkable, that while thus broadly challenged, no Southern member of Congress attempted, either at the time or subsequently, any refutation of Mr. Adams's statement of the laws of war as applied to slavery.

DR. TYNG ON SLAVERY.—The Rev. Dr. Tyng of New York, in the course of his speech at the recent meeting of the American Tract Society of Boston, made the following remarks:

'Slaveholding—that is, holding men and women in bondage—was a crime. Hear me added he, as the audience was uproarious with applause, slavery ought to be abolished; slavery must be abolished; slavery can be abolished; slavery shall be abolished; slavery will be abolished by this war. If to believe that, and to work for it is Abolitionism, then I am an Abolitionist.'

Quoting from a South-side clergyman, who argued that slavery was a divine institution: 'Yes,' said the Doctor, 'as hell is a divine institution, and destined, I hope, to go to the devil with the close of this war.'

THE STAMPEDE OF FREEDOM.

The beacon of war stands aloft enkindled,
And the carnage is begun;
The blood of brother and brother is mingled,
And busy is sword and gun.

This is no moment to flag or weary,
Or to ask, 'Oh! Lord, how long?'
The way may be dark, and sad, and dreary,
And success may appear with the wrong.

But courage, faint heart, and sink not
Into dull and blank despair;
Onward, right onward, the march must be,
If Justice and Right are there.

The chains are heavy, the backs are breaking
With a load too sad to be borne;
And far and wide must be the awaking
That the chains from these backs may be torn.

If not sunder'd now, those chains will be
stronger,
And the rivets more firmly cast;
The pull of our friends must be broader and
longer
Than e'er it has been in the past.

PARTIES must break up and cling together
To crush this hideous power;
ALL friends of the slave must unite and weather
This dark and perilous hour.

And Oh! Britannia will fail us never!
But a second battle fight [ever
For the slave, who blesses her lov'd shores
As the land of Freedom and Right.

In a struggle so sacred she cannot waver,
Or go back from her onward route;
Perish the thought that she ever can favor
What her sons spent their lives to root out!

In Europe the knell of the tyrant is sounding,
And the waves of Freedom roll
With a tideless, steady and onward bounding
That will spread from pole to pole.

Then courage, faint heart, and sink not
Into dull and dark despair;
Onward, right onward the march must be,
If Justice and Right are there.

M. A. CLARKE.

EDINBURGH, May 7th, 1861.

LORD BROUGHAM ON THE ANNEXATION OF SAN DOMINGO.

Lord BROUGHAM offered the following remarks in the English House of Lords, May 28th, on the Offences in Territories near Sierra Leone Prevention Bill:

Lord BROUGHAM said he highly approved this bill. He thought it absolutely essential that extension should be given to the jurisdiction of Sierra Leone. He considered that this bill improved the constitution of that colony, and tended to increase the benefits which we had given by it to the unhappy people of Africa, being, as Mr. Pitt once observed, a very, very small compensation for all the evil which we had been a party to inflicting upon them. These evils had been continued to the greatest extent, and in a far greater degree than any act of ours, by the extension of that jurisdiction, how beneficial, soever, could tend to remedy. He alluded to the atrocious conduct of Spain in that increase of the African slave trade, which, notwithstanding the treaties entered into, and the sums of money actually paid as compensation, and increased from 12,000 slaves imported in 1857 to 16,000 in 1858, and to no less than 40,000 in the year 1859. Now we found that Spain was increasing her dominions in the West Indies; and he was by no means satisfied with the assurance given him, when he last brought this matter before the House, that there was no intention of extending sla-

very, and thereby also, as a consequence, the slave trade, to that territory. Having had access to the decree of annexation by the Spanish Government since he last addressed their lordships, he found it stated that 'it was impossible to reject the prayers of a whole nation imploring re-admission into the bosom of the mother country.' So said the Spanish Government. What said the Governor of Hayti, Gen. Geffard? He distinctly called that statement an absolute falsehood. He denied that there was any imploring of the people there to be admitted into the bosom of the mother country, and added that in their circumstances it was utterly impossible that the free will of the people could be known; for Gen. Santana had established the reign of terror so entirely over them that 'they,' to use Gen. Geffard's own expression, 'trembling under it, could manifest no free will.'—The decree stated that the annexation of San Domingo had taken place, and the same decree went on to say: 'Already the Spanish flag is flying under that sky where the immortal Columbus had borne it, with the Gospel in his hand, to plant that civilization the most glorious of all then known.' Royal memories were proverbially short; else, had the Spanish Government recollected their treatment of Columbus, they would have been ashamed to name that man whose immortal services they had requited by sending him home in chains, which were struck off no doubt, in compliance with the popular indignation, but which he required to be buried with him when a few years afterwards he died in absolute want. It was also a sample of their short memory that they referred to 'the Gospel which he carried in his hand,' and which the Spanish Government desecrated by a series of constant ruthless persecutions. And as to the civilization which they bragged of having given to the New World, it was testified by their exterminating the natives by packs of bloodhounds. He observed that the decree said, 'Slavery, the inevitable evil of the other colonies, is altogether unnecessary for the cultivation of that fertile territory.' Was San Domingo more fertile than Cuba? Nothing of the kind. And it went on to add that 'there is no intention of re-establishing slavery there.'—He did not know what the intention might be. Perhaps there was no intention of establishing the slave trade when the Spanish Government bargained for a sum of money for putting it down, instead of extending it, and yet they had extended it. The means they took to carry on the government of their new acquisition were not such as gave him any very great confidence in their want of intention to establish slavery there. For to whom did they intrust the execution of this decree. The execution of the decree of annexation was intrusted to the Captain General of Cuba, who was to take necessary means of carrying it into execution. Now, if there was a Captain-General in all the world whom he should trust less than another for not planting slavery again in San Domingo, it would be the Captain-General of Cuba. He should have absolute confidence in him for extending the establishment of slavery in that part of the Spanish dominions. He regarded with the utmost possible surprise this conduct of the Spanish Government, and, recollecting their conduct on the slave trade in the island of Cuba, he was not in the least degree moved by the disavowal of their intention to introduce slavery into San Domingo, being perfectly convinced that they would re-establish it there if they had any occasion or temptation to do so. Cuba had now been for years and years a refuge of all the distressed nobles of the highest rank at the Court of Madrid when sunk in poverty by their own extravagance and loaded with debt, who returned in a year or two afterward full of plunder, which plunder consisted of the fees paid to them for the evasion of the abolition law and the introduction of slaves.

The bill then went through committee.

—It is estimated that the Federal Government has not less than 300,000 troops now under its control.

SOUTHERN GEMS.

[From the South Alabamian, May 11.]

\$75 REWARD.



RAN AWAY from the subscriber, about the middle of March last, a negro boy, named HAL, (calls himself William Henry Harrison.) Said boy is a bright mulatto, about nineteen years of age, about five feet four inches in height, weighs about one hundred and twenty-five pounds. I think Hal has made his way to Pensacola, as I took him there with me when in the Warrington Marine Barracks with the Greenville Guards. I will give the above-mentioned reward for the boy, if taken out of Butler County, and a reasonable reward if captured in the County. Apply at Greenville, Alabama, W. J. GRISSET, or T. H. MILLS.

NOTICE!!!



HAVING PROCURED A fine set of negro dogs I am prepared to hunt negroes anywhere within fifty miles of Greenville, at the shortest notice.

Terms—Four dollars per day for hunting; for catching, without weapons, ten dollars; with weapons, twenty dollars. J. L. COOPER.

[From the N. O. Picayune, May 8.]

Spring and Summer Arrangement.

MY SLAVE DEPOT, No. 195 Gravier st., will remain open winter and summer, for receiving, forwarding and selling Slaves on commission. For the protection of my patrons my Piney Woods Place, three and a half hours' run from the city; two and a half miles from Ticklaw Station, N. O. & J. Railroad, has been put in good order for a summer retreat, in the event of an epidemic or sickness of any kind.

ap25

C F HATCHER.

Fifty Dollars Reward.



RAN AWAY from the subscriber, on the night of the 16th inst., the black woman SARAH, aged about thirty-four years, born in this city, speaks French and English. She has a scar on her right temple, and has lost most of her upper front teeth; has a sharp face, and is usually dressed in mourning; will likely be found in the School District. The above reward will be paid on her apprehension and delivery to A. Thompson, 13 St. Ferdinand street, Third District. at8—1m*

Twenty Dollars Reward.



RAN AWAY on Sunday, the 6th inst., from her home, a negro woman named NANCY, rather light for a negro, about 20 years old, about 5 feet 5 in. in height, well built, one shoulder a little higher than the other, was in perfect health, has a good set of teeth, and a tight scar between her nose and eye; she is easily intimidated, had old clothes on, and was barefoot at the time she left. The above reward will be given to any one who delivers her at 174 Dumaine street, between Rampart and St. Claude. my7—2t*

Privateering!

THE fine sailing yacht boat "Spirit of the Times" for sale—built at Algiers, of cypress wood, copper-fastened, with double set of sails and all rigging complete, as she now lies a and near the residence of Mr. McGuire, on New Basin, one mile from the Lake end. Is offered for sale at a great sacrifice. Apply soon to

HENRY W. KAYS, at E. F. Mioton & Co's, cor. of Conti and Chartres sts. my2—6t*

Twenty-Five Dollars Reward.



RAN AWAY on the 9th inst., the slave named ADAM, black, aged 45 yrs., 5 feet 8 inches high, and strongly built. He has been formerly under the charge of Dr. Kelly, of Mobile, employed as a common laborer and deck hand. The above reward will be paid on delivery of above slave to

J. DONNADIEU, Leonville P. O., St. Landry, or to RICH. MESSERSCHMIDT, this office. ap30—1m

No. 1 Blacksmith at Private Sale.

THE negro man SAM, aged about 30 years, a No. 1 Blacksmith. Sold for no fault and fully guaranteed. For particulars apply to GARDNER SMITH & CO., 81 Common street. ap4

Twenty Dollars Reward.



RAN AWAY on or about the 1st of April, the negro man ANTHONY BRANCH, aged about 26 years, 5 feet 6 inches in height, of dark complexion. The impression is that he is secreted in this city. All persons are cautioned against harboring him, as the law will be enforced against them.

J. M. WILSON, 62 Baronne st., corner of Gravier. ap23—tf

[From the Kentucky Statesman, May 11.]

Negroes for Sale.

A MIDDLE-AGED negro woman, a good washer, ironer and cook, and a very capable servant in every respect; and also her son, a good-looking and remarkably sprightly mulatto boy of ten years old, are offered for sale. They will not be sold separately. Enquire at the office of the Statesman. aug31—99—tf

NEGROES WANTED.



THE UNDERSIGNED, having entered into partnership under the firm of Northcutt, Marshall & Co., for the purpose of dealing in Slaves, and will transact business at the house lately occupied by Jos. H. Northcutt, on East Main Street, Lexington, nearly opposite the Woolen Factory of Messrs. Thompson & Van Dalsem. They wish to purchase a large number of Negroes, of both sexes, and will pay the highest prices offered in the market. Persons at a distance having Negroes for sale, and finding it inconvenient to bring them to the city, will please address us by mail JOSEPH H. NORTHCUTT, SILAS MARSHALL, GEO. S. MARSHALL. oct21—9—tf

[From the New Orleans Picayune, May 4th.]

NEGROES FOR SALE.



A VERY LIKELY FAMILY OF NEGROES.—A man and wife, with six children, aged from one to twelve years. The man has no superior for honesty and sobriety. He is an excellent house or warehouse servant, and has had much experience in taking care of and driving horses. The woman is a good cook, washer and ironer. The three eldest children are good waiters and nurses. All fully guaranteed. Several tracts of good Farming Land and improved Town Property, in the State of Missouri, would be sold on time or exchanged for good merchandise. Apply to BEN. BLAND, at Hewitt, Norton & Co's, 151 Common Street. F26—tf

[Advertisement.]

EMIGRATION TO HAYTI.

CIRCULAR.—NO. I.

To the Blacks, Men of Color, and Indians in the United States and British North American Provinces:

FRIENDS:—I am authorized and instructed by the Government of the Republic, to offer you, individually and by communities, a welcome, a home, and a free homestead, in Hayti.

Such of you as are unable to pay your passage will be provided with the means of defraying it.

Two classes of emigrants are especially invited—laborers and farmers. None of either class, or any class, will be furnished with passports, who cannot produce, before sailing, the proofs of good character for industry and integrity.

To each family of emigrants, five carreaux (a carreau is 3 acres and 3 1-3 rods) of fresh and fertile land, capable of growing all the fruits and staples of the tropics, will be gratuitously given, on the sole condition that they shall settle on it and cultivate it, and declare their intention of becoming citizens of Hayti. To unmarried men, on similar conditions, two carreaux will be granted.

Board and lodging, free of cost, will be furnished to the emigrants for at least eight days after their arrival in the island.

The government also will find remunerative work for those of you whose means will not permit you to begin immediately an independent cultivation.

Emigrants are invited to settle in communities.

Sites for the erection of schools and chapels will be donated by the State, with out regard to the religious belief of the emigrants.

The same protection and civil rights that the laws give to Haytians are solemnly guaranteed to the emigrants.

The fullest religious liberty will be secured to them; they will never be called on to support the Roman Catholic Church.

No military service will be demanded of them, excepting that they shall form military companies and drill themselves once a month.

All the necessary personal effects, machinery and agricultural instruments introduced by the emigrants, shall be entered free of duty.

The emigrants shall be at liberty to leave the country at any moment they please; but those whose passage shall be paid by government, if they wish to return before the expiration of three years, will be required to refund the money expended on their account. A contract, fixing the amount, will be made with each emigrant before leaving the continent.

I have been commissioned to superintend the interests of the emigrants and charged with the entire control of the movement in America, and all persons, therefore, desiring to avail themselves of the invitation and bounty of the Haytian Government, are requested to correspond with me.

I shall at once, as directed by the Government, establish a bureau of emigration in Boston, and publish a Guide Book for the use of the persons of African or Indian descent who may wish to make themselves acquainted with the resources of the country and the disposition of its authorities.

I shall also appoint Agents to visit such communities as may seriously entertain the project of emigration.

Immediate arrangements, both here and in Hayti, can be made for the embarkment and settlement of one hundred thousand persons.

By order of the Government of the Republic of Hayti. JAMES REDPATH,

General Agent of Emigration.

BOSTON, Nov. 3, 1860.

CIRCULAR.—NO. VI.

HAYTIAN BUREAU OF EMIGRATION, }
Boston, March 8, 1861.

To Men of African descent in the United States and Canadas:

FRIENDS:—Arrangements have been made by this Bureau by which emigrants can sail from this port in regular packets, every two weeks, or oftener, for the Republic of Hayti.

Those who go by these packets must in all cases pay their own passage; the price of which will be \$18, provisions being found. This is about one-third the usual rates of charge from Northern ports.

Whenever any colony of eighty, or over, signify their readiness to sail at a designated time, a vessel will be chartered expressly for the purpose of conveying them comfortably and speedily from either Boston, New York, Philadelphia, or Washington, to Hayti. Price of passage same as above. Children under 12 years, half price; under 2, free.

Laborers and farmers, going by these chartered vessels, if unable to pay their own passage, can have it advanced to them, including provisions. But they must furnish their own bedding for the voyage.

All whose passage money is thus advanced will sign a contract engaging to repay the amount (\$18) to the Government of Hayti within three years, in case they take grants of Government lands, or choose to leave the country within the time specified.

Those who do not choose to accept Government lands, but remain over three years in the Island, will not be required to repay it at all.

Emigrants must defray their own expenses in reaching the port of embarkation.

Those who go in vessels specially chartered by this Bureau will be allowed to take any reasonable amount of household goods and farming implements free of charge.

Those who go by regular packets will be charged for freight at the rate of 90 cents per barrel, or 18 cents per square foot.

Usual length of voyage, from 14 to 20 days.

All who design to emigrate are earnestly requested to give this Bureau ample notice of their readiness to sail. JAMES REDPATH,

General Agent.

CIRCULAR—NO VII.

HAYTIAN BUREAU OF EMIGRATION, }
Boston, March 20, 1861. }

Experience has shown that it has become an imperative necessity that a change should be made from the terms of a recent Circular relative to the system of boarding emigrants during their passage to the Republic of Hayti. It was stated that passengers might choose between boarding themselves or paying \$8 in advance for their board. The passengers both by the "Janet Kidston" and the "Mary A. Jones," decided to board themselves; but, in both cases, in a majority of instances, failed to provide for the wants of an ordinary voyage. If this system were continued, a long passage would necessarily result in starvation, unless the Bureau should provide against such a contingency, by laying in a sufficient amount of provisions. To avoid the expense, therefore, the embarrassment and danger attending the present system, after a full consultation with other agents and men experienced in the business, I have come to the resolution to have the ship provide provisions for all the emigrants, and to include the expense of board in the sum to be specified in the contract. That is to say, passengers will either pay \$18 for an emigrant's passage, their board being found and cooked for them, or sign a contract to pay that sum after one, two, or three years, as they prefer, with the important exception, also, that those who may remain more than three years, and decide not to accept of the Government grant of lands, will never be required to repay any amount whatever.

This arrangement, it is hoped, will overcome the difficulty expressed by many industrious men, but without money, who, living in the interior, have not found it possible to pay their expenses to the seaboard, and then to provide themselves with provisions (as the United States laws require) for at least one month in advance.

The board provided for emigrants will be the navy rations of the United States, minus intoxicating spirits, which will not be allowed in our vessels. The following is the fare:

NAVY RATION FOR EACH DAY OF THE WEEK.

Days.	Bread.	Beef.	Pork.	Flour.	Rice.	Dried Fruit.	Pickles.	Sugar.	Tea.	Coffee.	Butter.	Cheese.	Beans.	Molasses.	Vinegar.	Water.
Sunday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Monday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tuesday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wednesday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Thursday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Friday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Saturday	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	98	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Every emigrant should be provided with a mattress two feet wide, and bedding, a gallon tin can, (for water,) a tin cup, a tin plate, knife and fork, a few pounds of soap, and towels, with such extra utensils as may be deemed necessary to hold the daily rations.

As efforts have been industriously made by unscrupulous men to misrepresent the conditions under which emigrants who not prepay their passages, will accept the offers of the Government of Hayti, it is deemed advisable to publish below, in full, the contract to be made with them. The words in italic and within brackets (blank in the original) are filled up to show precisely the terms on which a single man can emigrate. It should be distinctly understood, that no barrier whatever will be put to any man's return, excepting that he shall pay the sum of eighteen dollars before embarking for the United States, if he did not pay for his own passage from this country to Hayti. The Government of Hayti, while they will welcome all visitors, cannot reasonably be expected to pay their passages. Hence this provision.

The following is the contract with the emigrants who do not prepay their passages:

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into this [first] day of [January] A. D. 1861, by and between JAMES REDPATH, of Boston, General Agent of Emigration, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Hayti, and [John Smith,] late of [Detroit, Michigan,] and an emigrant to Hayti;

WITNESSETH: That said James Redpath, on behalf of the Government of Hayti aforesaid, agrees to provide a passage for said [John Smith] from the port of [Boston] to the port of [St. Mark] in said Hayti, in the [Brig L'Ami d' Haiti] leaving the port of [Boston] on or about the [third] day of [January]

1861, upon the conditions hereafter following, viz:

First, said [John Smith] hereby acknowledges the receipt of [a] ticket of passage from said port of [Boston] to said port of [St. Mark] in Hayti, and agrees during the term of said voyage to provide [his] own bedding, and the necessary utensils for eating and drinking. Secondly, in consideration of receiving the passage aforesaid, said [John Smith] further agrees, that if he accepts a grant of land from the Government of Hayti, under the provisions of the law on Emigration, approved by His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Hayti, September 1, 1860, he will repay to the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti the sum of [eighteen] dollars, American currency, within [three years] from the date of the contract.

Furthermore, that if from any cause said [John Smith] sees proper to leave Hayti before the expiration of the term of three years from the date of [his] arrival in the Island, [he] shall pay the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti the sum of [eighteen] dollars, American currency, as repayment of expenses incurred by the agents of the Government for [his] passage to Hayti; but, nevertheless, with this express provision: That if [he] does remain three years in the Island from the date of [his] arrival therein, and does not see fit to accept a grant of land from the Government of the Republic of Hayti, [he] shall not be required to repay to the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti, or any agent of Government thereof, any sum whatever on account of said passage.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year above written.

[L. S.] [John Smith.]
[L. S.] JAMES REDPATH.

First cabin passengers, by Government vessels, will be charged \$30 (payable invariably in advance,) which will include all the necessities of a voyage to the tropics, and first-rate fare.

JAMES REDPATH,
General Agent.

LAWS ON EMIGRATION.
I.

Law on the Emigration into the Country of Persons of the African and Indian Races.

FABRE GEFFRARD, President of Hayti,
By the advice of the Council of the Secretaries of State and the Legislative Bodies, after having considered and declared the urgency of it, has rendered the following law:

Article I. After the promulgation of the present law, five carreaux of land will be granted, free of all charge, to every family of laborers or cultivators, of the African or Indian races who shall arrive in the Republic. This grant will be reduced to two carreaux when the laborer or cultivator is unmarried.

Art. II. These grants will be delivered, without expense, and with a provisional title, to every family that shall have made, before the proper magistrate, the declaration prescribed by law with the view of obtaining naturalization, and they will be converted into final grants after the residence of a year and a day in the country.

Art. III. The final grants will be given in exchange for the provisional grants only when it shall have been ascertained by the Government agents that cultivation has already commenced on the property granted.

Art. IV. The grantee shall not have power to dispose of his grant before the expiration of seven consecutive years of occupation. Nevertheless, he will be able to obtain the authority to exchange his grant for another property, but only on the conditions, terms, and with the powers above named.

The present law shall be promptly executed by the Secretary of State, of the Interior, and of Agriculture.

Given at the National House of Port-au-Prince, the 5th day of September, year 57th of Independence.

The President of the Senate: F. LACRUZ.
The Secretaries: CELASTIN, J. Y. MENDEZA.

Given at the Chamber of Representatives of Port-au-Prince, the 5th of September, 1860, year 57th of Independence.

The President of the Chamber:
W. CHANLATTE.

The Secretaries: J. THEBAUD, F. RICHIEZ.

In the name of the Republic:

The President of Hayti ordains that the foregoing law of the Legislative Bodies be stamped with the seal of the Republic, published and executed.

Given at the National Palace of Port-au-Prince the 6th day of September, 1860, year 57th of Independence.

By the President: GEFFRARD.
The Secretary of State of the Interior and of Agriculture: F. JN. JOSEPH.
The Secretary of War and the Marine, T. DEJOIE.
The Keeper of the Seals, Sec. of State of the General Police, JH. LAMOTHE.
The Secretary of State of Justice, etc., F. E. DUBOIS.
The Sec. of State of Finances, Commerce, and Exterior Relations, VN. PLESANCE.

II.

Law on the Naturalization of Emigrants of the African and Indian Races.

FABRE GEFFRARD:
On the report of the Secretary of State of Justice, and by the advice of the Council of the Secretaries of State,

Considering that prompt action is demanded in behalf of those who possess the required qualifications to become Haytians, in order to enable them with facility to enter into the immediate enjoyment of the right attached to naturalization,

Proposes the following law:

Article I. Article 14 of the Civil Code is modified as follows: All those who by virtue of the Constitution are unable to acquire the rights of Haytian citizens, must, during the first month of their arrival in the country, before the Justice of the Peace of their residence, and in the presence of two well known citizens, make a declaration to the effect that they come with the intention of settling in the Republic. They will at the same time, before the Justice of the Peace, take oath that they renounce every other country save Hayti.

Art. II. Provided with the verbal process of the Justice of the Peace, setting forth the declaration that they come to settle in the Republic, and their taking of the oath, they will present themselves at the offices of the President of Hayti, to receive an act from the Chief of the State recognizing them citizens of the Republic.

Art. III. The present law annuls all laws or measures which are contrary to it, and shall be executed with dispatch by the Secretary of State for Justice.

Given at the National Palace of Port-au-Prince, the 27th day of August, 1860, the 57th year of Independence. GEFFRARD.

SECESSION MEANNESS.—As soon as the news of the killing of JACKSON, Col. ELLSWORTH'S murderer, was published, it was proposed to raise a large fund for his family. Charleston, among other rebel cities, raised the enormous sum of \$400, but the family have been virtually robbed of it.

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TERMS OF DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

Single Copies, to American subscribers, \$1 per year.
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FREDERICK DOUGLASS, ROCHESTER, N. Y.

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We take the liberty of using the names of the following gentlemen who will receive names and subscriptions for Douglass' Monthly in Great Britain:

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